

THE
CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. IV.

JANUARY, 1852.

No. 4.

VALUE OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

ART. I.—*The Mercersburg Review*. Vol. III, No. 5. P. 487.

THERE are certain subjects in Theology, which, like the spheres floating about us in the heavens, appear to have their periodical cycles—their perigee and their apogee—their times to wax and wane. In reference to our own locality in the Christian fold, Episcopacy is one of the most prominent of these topics. We must, every now and then, expect to have it questioned and disputed, and formally re-argued and established, against (as the Dedication to King James' Bible calls them) "self-conceited brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking to nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil." Another of these topics is the special character and value of the Christian Fathers, as a standard of appeal in conducting the Episcopal, and many other controversies; to which we are always exposed by our peculiar position, between "Popish persons" (as this same Dedication styles them) on the one hand, and those "self-conceited brethren" on the other, who, exalting their own judgment into a pope, talk as oracularly and dogmatically, as he who vaticinates from the throne of the double sword. This latter topic we had hoped indeed had lately completed one of its cycles, amid the convolutions of Puseyism; and that the Oxford Tracts on the one side, and Mr. Isaac Taylor on the other, had so displayed the supposed merits and demerits of

the Fathers, that their venerable names might sleep awhile, without being bandied amid the dust and din of polemic disputation.

But, it seems, this may not be. The *Mefcersburg Review*, which has gained a prominence before the eye of the religious public, that makes its *dicta* like the beacons of a city set upon a hill, has determined that the Fathers (Samuel-like) shall be bewitched from their comfortable repose, and again hear the clarion of war. We had dreamed better things of the name of Nevin, than that it should find Early Christian Antiquity reeking with the fumes of Popery. This of course, is the old rancid cant of the "self-conceited brethren," who prefer the popery of their individual judgments, and are resolved that it shall be inflicted upon all dissenters from themselves, at the formidable peril of having no reputation for "a change of heart." But of Dr. Nevin we had entertained fairer opinions, and more cheering hopes, than to suppose he would become a victim to the old pitfall, and plunge as deep in prejudice, as those who, aware that Antiquity is no friend to ministerial parity, deride it with a hate so scornful, as to remind one of an observation of the delinquent in Shakspeare, who could not tolerate a man of virtue. Iago envied Cassio, and exclaimed, in view of his luminous and upright conduct,

He hath a daily beauty in his life,
That makes me ugly.

So these people seem to quarrel with Episcopacy, because of the painful contrast its embodiment of order and fitness presents to their own (so-called) platform; which, being without a head, and indeed without a body, appears to be a sort of ecclesiastical impersonality, that no one has any proclivity whatever to revere. To honor it, would be like taking one's hat off before the subtle Dr. Emmons' definition of the human soul—a string of onions without a string.*

We are somewhat afraid that Dr. Nevin, after being an "almost" churchman, is falling back into former tastes and habits, and verifying the adage of Horace about the difficulty of eradicating innate predilections:

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.

For only see, with what a genuine schismatic zeal and twang he hurls condemnation at the Fathers, as if little better at

* The Doctor esteemed the soul a succession of ideas and essences, which he thus graphically identified. Dr. Dwight wrote against him.

heart than the Jesuits of Charles the First's days; who donned the Genevan cloak and band, and preached a Protestantism so intensely non-episcopal, that the Pope was willing to pay for it in good round ducats.*

"They [i. e. the Fathers] looked upon the sacraments as mysteries: taking Baptism to be for the Remission of Sins, and seeing, in the 'tremendous sacrament of the Altar,' the real presence of the Redeemer's Glorified Body, and a new exhibition continually of the one sacrifice that takes away sin. All was reality; not merely shadow and type. They acknowledged the Divine character of the Christian Priesthood, the necessity of confession, the grace of ministerial absolution. They believed in Purgatory; and considered it 'a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.' They held that the intercession of saints is salutary for the living, in the other world, as well as in the present: and they made it a part of their piety, accordingly, to seek the aid of departed saints, as well as of angels, by addressing to them direct invocations for this purpose. They counted it a part of their religion, also, to venerate and cherish the monuments and relics of departed saints and martyrs; and were firmly persuaded that miracles were often performed, through the instrumentality of such relics, as well as on fit occasions also in other ways; for of the continuance of miracles in the Church, they never dreamed of making any question. They set a high value on the merit of celibacy and voluntary poverty, chosen in the service of the kingdom of God: and, both by doctrine and example, did what they could to recommend the monastic life, as at once honorable to religion, and eminently suited to promote the spiritual welfare of men. All these things, too, went together in their view, as so many parts and constituents of a single religious system; and the only voices that ventured here and there to make them the subject of doubt or contradiction, as in the case of Aerius, Jovinian, and Vigilantius, were quickly cried down from every side, as absolutely heretical and profane."

Such language as this, coming from a quarter likely to influence students in Divinity, and others among us, who are forming their opinions upon important questions in Theology, has determined us to take for a subject, the value of the Christian Fathers, and attempt, (not indeed a review, by way of Philippic—a comparatively easy task) but such a discussion

* Nalson's Collections, Vol. I. Introd. p. 38.

of it, as may be useful to inquirers, who are unable to consult authorities, and will be glad to see, in a short compass, what reason there is for estimating the Fathers highly, and how, particularly, they subserve our purpose in settling vexed questions, respecting Christian discipline and doctrine. It may be well enough to say, in passing, that the rashness of Dr. Nevin, considered as a scholar merely, is somewhat wonderful. He will have it for instance, that the Fathers believed in Purgatory.* Can he possibly be unaware, that this is a point which, not a few Protestant Divines, but the whole Greek Church denies? Surely, if he remembered the history of the Council of Florence, in 1439, and its reception among Oriental Christians, he could hardly have esteemed it safe for an accurate theologian to indulge in such sweeping statements, about notorious points of controversy.† However, it is not our design, or wish, to enter upon an examination, in detail, of Dr. Nevin's vague, dictatorial, and wholesale allegations. It must be distinctly understood, that it is not by any means our aim to prove him a probable backslider into Puritanism, or an adventurer towards the domain of Popery. Our desire is, rather, to give a somewhat didactic view of a subject, which, in his hands, is completely distorted; and to do this for those, who are more anxious for instruction, than for flippant criticism. And, accordingly, if in accomplishing such a purpose, we quote a few authorities, it is hoped we shall not be arraigned for pedantry.

In commencing our discussion it need hardly be said, that the value of the Fathers is a point which has been much mooted, and about which the extremest opinions have been entertained. Rome, for example, in times past, has as it were ascended Gerizim in their behalf, and pronounced nothing but

* In full-blown Purgatory, some of them. Since, on page 486, he says, the conceptions which led to direct Romanism were, in the fourth and fifth centuries, "in full operation and force;" and that too, "with universal authority!"

† It would not be more difficult to dispose of Dr. Nevin's statements about the Invocation of the Saints, or the *primacy* of Peter; which, with multitudes of Romanists, he will confound with his *supremacy*, and even try to make Dr. Barrow himself a believer in it, from A. D. 400. One book would be enough, viz. old Crakanthorp's *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. With him, we might say to Dr. Nevin, as himself said to the renegade De Dominis, "Vanum hominem! In præmissis Pygmeus es, in conclusione plu-quam Giganteus," *Defensio*, p. 368. Crakanthorp's book is one of the best controversial defences of the Church of England ever written. Would that it might be translated. Meanwhile, let all who cannot read it consult Palmer's Letters to Wiseman. The Grand Cardinal, who goes to dine with red hat and wax tapers before him, is another exquisite specimen of the Pigmy in premises, and the Giant in conclusions.

benedictions upon their authority. This has provoked some Protestants to ascend Mount Ebal, and utter corresponding curses. (Deut. xxvii, 13.) Thus, in the very Creed of Pope Pius IV, we are told, that the Scriptures are never to be interpreted otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. And in the celebrated Exposition of the renowned Bossuet, we are gravely informed, that the Romish Church has bound herself to interpret Scripture, in what concerns faith and morality, according to the sense of the Holy Fathers, from which she professes never to depart.* While scores of Romish writers once indulged in a taunt, in which Dr. Nevin peradventure would sustain them, and which, as Bishop Hall tells us, fell from Campian and Possevine; (both Jesuits :) "Give us the Fathers for our judges, and the day is ours."† A taunt this which has been quite lately repeated by one who seems inclined to defend Romanism on the old ground, rather than on the fashionable and the new. We allude to Dr. Machale's work on the evidences and doctrines of Popery; in which Bishop Warburton is quoted as remarking, that one of the notorious Protestant customs of his times was a contempt for the Fathers.‡

And such claims as these in behalf of the Fathers, have stimulated many Protestants, not to the better task of examining the Fathers, to ascertain whether the pretensions of Rome were well-grounded; but rather to indiscriminate and abusive condemnation of them *en masse*, as utterly unworthy the confidence of Christian and inquiring men. Thus, says Milton, when assaying the demolition of "Prelatical Episcopacy;" "Whatever time, or the heedless hand of blind chance, hath drawn down from of old to this present, in her huge dragnet, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen, those are the Fathers."§ And, as parallel to Milton in later times, we would quote Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim's Institutes, who hesitates not to declare, that while the writings of the Fathers still form a rule of Faith in the Romish communion, their authority in the Protestant Churches diminishes from day to day.||

These references prove, amply and painfully, the *apparent* estimate in which the Fathers have been held by persons at

* Newman's Proph. Office, &c., p. 71.

† Hall's Wks. vi. 226; Comber's Roman Forgeries, Int. p. 9.

‡ Machale, p. 422, note. But compare Warburton's Wks., Vol. viii, Int. p. 3.

§ Prose Works, Royal 8vo, p. 22.

|| Maclaine's Mosheim, Introd. I, 5, note. Comp. Soames' Romish Reaction, p. 64.

the zenith and nadir of controversial theology, viz., the Romanist and the Puritan, and incline too many to suspect, that the Puritanic reaction from unbounded deference to the Fathers is but just, and that really they are nothing better than the "indigested heap and fry" of ecclesiastical rubbish, to which Milton, in his characteristic anathema compares them.

It seems important, then, that we should, in the first place, speak historically of the estimate which controversialists have placed upon the Fathers; and show, that after accurate inquiry, the laudations which Romanism gives them is to be taken with quite as much abatement, as Romish versions of many scriptural texts, and Jesuitical definitions of the principles of morals.

I. The first point, then, to which the reader's attention will be called is, the history of such treatment as the Fathers have experienced.

Rome, in the Creed of Pius IV, seems to appeal to the Fathers with a deference altogether unqualified.* She so appealed, however, before she knew that Protestants of the Church of England would bring her self-confident assurance to the test. The Fathers had been in her sole keeping for ages; and no one presumed to think that they could, by any possibility, speak otherwise than as *she* had given them utterance. But Bishop Jewel's challenge, after the Reformation had fairly begun in England,† to determine the chief points in controversy between Rome and England, by an examination of the Fathers for the first six centuries, proved to how much the appeal to the Fathers really amounted. The Church of England has had no apprehension about the Fathers since Jewel's days; and if we may believe a French champion of Protestantism, viz., Daillé, "on the right use of the Fathers," and the Puritans of America in their preface to the Cambridge Platform, then there is small danger that Protestants of other names will be corrupted by the Fathers, and entangled by them in the meshes of Popery; though Dr. Nevin and others may fancy that danger imminent.‡ Says Daillé, "As

* Pope Nicholas I, a patron of the forged Decretals, said Rome had never taken a single step, not strictly warranted by the Holy Fathers. Zosimus, and Leo I, did the same thing. Soames' Latin Church, pp. 337, 338.

† In A. D. 1560. Soames' Hist. Reformat. iv, 705.

‡ Field, in his Treatise on the Church, says, that Luther and others declined the appeal to the Fathers, at the Reformation, because they believed the text of the Fathers corrupted by the Papists. Vol. ii, 407; or Book iv, ch. 5, note. Reeves, in his Apologies, says the same thing, ii, 356, note. And compare Bingham's Antiq. ix, 63, 66, to see that the Huguenots admitted Tradition, in respect to rites and ceremonies

for the Apostles' Creed, and the determinations of the first four general councils, (which are assented to and approved by *all* the Protestant party,) I confess we may, by this way of trial, allow them as competent judges in these matters."* Says the Preface to the Cambridge Platform, "How signally the Lord [the *Lord*, let it be carefully noted, and not *man*] hath owned the confession of the four general synods or councils, for the suppression of the heresies of those times needs not to be said; since *no man* can be ignorant thereof, that hath made it his concern to be acquainted with things of this nature."† As an echo to this, President Stiles, in his famous Election Sermon, urged his brother ministers to give up "new theories in Divinity," and go back to what had been taught "by the Primitive Christians of the apostolic age, and the three first centuries."‡ And the more sensible among those who are not Episcopalians have, even at this day, as little fear respecting the tendency of a familiar acquaintance with the early Fathers. Why, Dr. Gardiner Spring, in his long and elaborate dissertation on the Rule of Faith, does not fear to avow boldly, that "The early Fathers believed, just as the Reformers believed."§

But, at this stage of our progress, we shall no doubt be confronted with this question, 'How, if Rome's appeal to the Fathers is so unsuccessful, and if Protestants *par excellence* shrink not from the same appeal, how she can continue this appeal, in such works as the Exposition of Bossuet, or the dogmatics of Machale, a titular Archbishop?' And the answer is, as Bishop Hall has well observed, that Rome, when beaten from the true ground, the *genuine* sentiments of the Fathers, takes refuge in bastard fathers, or forged fathers, by means of which she still sustains her reference to them with vociferous emphasis.|| Some may account the licence quite adventurous, but verily Rome, when *talking to herself*, has

* Daillé translated, London, 1841, p. 201.

† Camb. Platform, Edit. 1829, p. 72. This Puritanic deference to the first four General Councils, was, even at the date of the Platform, no new thing. We find the same thing done by Francis Cheynell, in the presence of the Westminster Assembly itself! See Cheynell's Divine Triunity, p. 455. A more masterly, as well as more orthodox book, upon the doctrine of the Trinity, than Andover ever produced. Modern Puritanism, with all its boasts, has eclipsed ancient Puritanism, not in ability, but in self-conceit. As to orthodoxy, it is a long distance behind its prototype!

‡ Stiles's Serm. Edit. 1783, p. 95.

§ Spring's Dissert. New York: 1844, p. 40.

|| Bishop Hall's Works, vi, 226.

sometimes let such a momentous fact leak out. Thus, an edition of the works of Saint Augustine was once published at Venice, with the following most fatal imprimatur; "Besides the recovery of many passages by collation with ancient copies, we have taken care to remove whatever might infect the minds of the faithful with heretical pravity, or turn them aside from the catholic and orthodox faith."* In very deed, no one knows what a regular trade Rome has driven in poisoning the fountains of Antiquity, but those who have explored those fountains with cautious and fatiguing diligence. Most rare, and most marvellous is it, to find such honesty among Romish scholars, as among the Benedictines of St. Maur; who thus freely confessed that the Fathers are quite equivocal witnesses for modern Romanism. "But what seems almost incredible," say they, alluding to the fundamental Romish tenet of Purgatory, "is the uncertainty and inconsistency of the Holy Fathers on the subject, from the very times of the Apostles, to the Pontificate of Gregory XI, and the Council of Florence; that is, for almost the whole of fourteen centuries."† As Dr. Nevin, from the character of his criticisms on the Fathers, is evidently far more familiar with second-hand authorities than the Fathers themselves in *unromanized* editions, we can commend to him the foregoing from one of this kind, who is emphatically (to use the marketable phrase) first rate: we mean no less a personage than our quondam Anglican, John Henry Newman. Mr. (or, Popishly speaking, Doctor) Newman's admissions are now, of course, inestimably precious; and there is a singular gratification in rescuing a choice one, like this, from the flames of an Auto da Fe, in which he would willingly make it undergo the pains and penalties of heresy. If this Doctor of Pio Nono had a tithe of the honesty of Thomas Cranmer, he would long ago have burned off his rebel fingers; but since he has not, there is a particular propriety in reminding him, that, in one of the *books* which he the rather has doomed to such retribution, he unequivocally and most potentially demonstrates, that Rome's reverence for the Fathers is but one of her customary hypocritical pretences.‡ that, in fact, she used the Fathers as she once did, merely because she thought Protestants had not the astuteness of Dr. Newman to discover her tricks, nor the fortitude of the same heavy-handed manipulator to wield a scourge against her,

* Taylor's Dissuasive Works, X, 497.

† Newman's Proph. Office of the Church, p. 79.

‡ Newman's Proph. Office, p. 84; James' Corruptions of the Fathers, p. 224, &c.

whose livid scars no penitential poulticing can eradicate. And even if we had not Doctor Newman's strong sentences to sustain us, the unblushing attempt of Petavius, the "thrice-illustrious" Jesuit, to prove the Ante-Nicene Fathers Arians, in order that the sole glory of defining and establishing the true faith might redound to the honor of the Council of Nice, and thus some after council, at some convenient season, be made the ultimatum of the faith, in spite of testimony—the attempt of this forecasting ecclesiastical politician would be quite enough to show, that the Fathers subserve Rome's purposes, only as they are waxen tablets, on which her *present* opinions may be written.* She likes them in our day, with the theory of Development wherewith to mould them, perhaps better than ever; since this theory enables her to employ the Fathers for her favorite purposes, with infinitely more ease and tact, than under the old policy of bastardizing and forging. The Fathers, as she now supposes, are completely subject to her plastic maneuvering. No doubt they are. But Development, as she may yet discover to her sorrow, is a two-edged weapon. It is just as serviceable for the heretic, as for the Papist; and if such a mock Chrysostom as Moehler can make the Fathers minister subserviently to his ingenious schemes, so (we cannot doubt it) might Priestly have done, had he been now upon the stage. Priestly undertook to convert the Fathers into something heaven-wide different from the quiddities into which Dr. Nevin's polyoptric eye has transmuted them. He undertook to convert them into downright Unitarians!—aye, even such Fathers as voted for the symbol of Nice; or adopted the decisions of those four peerless assemblies, which, as even Puritan lips could aver, had been honored with God's overshadowing patronage! Priestly would have made inexpressibly better work of it, if he could have maintained, that the Primitive Church gradually developed from the chaste simplicities of the Unitarian creed, the tortuous and recondite subtleties which were afterwards adopted as strictly orthodox. Instead of which, he projected the forlorn task of attempting to show, in his *Histories of Early Opinions and Corruptions*, that the Fathers were Socinians *bona fide*. It needed a man of his sturdy effrontery to take up such an hypothesis, and endeavor to face down mod-

* When Archbishop Cranmer began the *new* plan of proving things by the Bible, he did not go against the Fathers; for Rome's plan *then* was, to prove her points by the Schoolmen and Popish canon law.—Strype's Cranmer, p. 62, Oxford, 1840.

est men; and he received but poetical justice at the hands of Bishop Horsley, who pierced him, through and through, as Gibbon admitted, with a "mighty spear."*

As to the treatment which the Fathers have experienced from the Church of England, it is most signally unlike that, which they have received from Protestant bodies generally; and Romanists have occasionally been candid enough to allow this: though it is amusing to us, and would be solemnly satisfactory to a Presbyterian, to see a Romanist like Bergier in his Dictionary of Theology ascribe the fact to her being Popishly inclined.† Why, as a very able writer in the British Critic, most effectively shows, the study of the Fathers has always declined in England, till the Romish controversy has provoked English divines to undertake it spiritedly.‡ The latter part of the reign of Charles II, the whole reign of James II, (1685-88.) and indeed of William and Mary, kept English divines lively about the Romish controversy; and never were the Fathers more faithfully or successfully studied.§ Witness that astonishing series of essays, which Bishop Gibson collected and published as an everlasting "Preservative against Popery," whether assailing us with its arguments or its arts. This work, almost obsolete from its rarity and costliness, has been republished within three years, in eighteen beautiful octavos; and we could scarcely recommend, to any person, a more complete magazine of weapons wherewith to fight Popery (if necessary) for a thousand years. Gog and Magog might be encountered fearlessly behind such ramparts, and with such artillery, as our English forefathers of the seventeenth century have made ready to our hands.||

It will now be seen by our readers, *how* the Fathers have fared at the hands of Romanists, and Protestants of (in pretension at least) the most anti-Romish school; and they will at the same time see, *why* they have undergone the treatment, which has actually befallen them. Rome exalts the Fathers, when they can be made accordant with her views by any twisting, into which she can, lawfully or unlawfully, configure them. The ultra-protestant is angry with the Fathers, simply because the Papist claims them presumptuously for his own;

* Gibbon's Life: Milman's Edition, pp. 254-5.

† Bergier's Theol. Dict. vi, 334.

‡ Brit. Crit. 1831. Vol. x, 255.

§ Brett on Liturgies. New Edition, p. 465.

|| Peck, the author of the *Desiderata Curiosa*, has actually counted up the publications for, and against Popery, during James II's reign alone, and they amounted to 457.

as if Rome, like a foul serpent, must defile and envenom every thing upon which it leaves its slime. With such unwise men as John Barbeyrac, and Conyers Middleton, he will readily grant that the Fathers are all liars; because they appear, or may be made to appear, the abettors of Romish falsehoods.* By such a religionist, Dr. Nevin will be hailed as a collaborator in the satanical employment of accusing these Christian veterans. Whereas, the Church of England divine, (when not like Middleton, untrue to the spirit of the *English* Reformation; but like Jewel, and Hooker, and Bramhall, and Thorndike, and Jeremy Taylor, ready to accept the testimony of Primitive Antiquity, so far as it can throw light on disputed constructions of Scripture,) the genuine Church of England divine, treats the Fathers in such a way, as, without undue deference *for*, or undue depreciation *of* them, enables him to glean from them all which is really valuable, to quiet doubts and to determine controversy.† With him, the Bible, and the Bible only, is quite enough, if the Bible can be construed, as his Church construes it; *i. e.* in the way familiar to primitive Christians, respecting matters of discipline, as well as matters of doctrine. If this most sacred standard is to be construed by new light, whether of Rome, or of Geneva—by the school of Development, whether of John Robinson of Leyden,‡ or John Henry Newman of Oscott—then, his appeal is to the Church's earliest and most transparent days, when she was undivided and undistracted; when she was, like Jerusalem, built as a city at unity in itself. Then, he adopts the standard, which good Bishop Ken clung to with his dying breath, and which can hardly be too often quoted: "As for my religion, I die in the Holy,§ Catholic, and Apostolic faith, professed by the whole Church, before the disunion of the East and West; more particularly, I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the cross."||

* Quart. Theol. Rev., 1825, Vol. i, 405.

† James' Corruptions, p. 246. A strong testimony.

‡ See Coit's Puritanism, p. 371.

§ Bishop Ken uses the word *Holy*, as well as the words *Catholic* and *Apostolic*; and, perhaps in his day, the word *Holy* had not been dropped out of the ninth article of the Nicene Creed. Why it has been left out, in all our modern English copies, while the Greek copies universally retain it, we know not. At a proper opportunity, our General Convention should restore it. A mutilation of a Catholic Creed, in any particular, is a formidable matter.

|| Biog. Britannica, p. 2820. Comp. Sanderson's in Todd's Life of Bishop Walton, Vol. i, p. 300.

II. Having thus glanced, historically, over the treatment which the Fathers have experienced from theological extremes, and from the Church which we believe to have kept the true *via media*, let us now come more directly to our subject, and inquire, in the next place, concerning the character in which the Fathers are to be referred to, when cited as authorities.

If one looks into such volumes as Daillé on the *right* use of the Fathers, (as he chooses to style his book,) as Osburn upon the *doctrinal* errors of the apostolical and early Fathers, (as he prefers to state his title-page,) as Dr. Gardiner Spring's Dissertation on the Rule of Faith, delivered before the American Bible Society at Cincinnati, he would suppose that the Fathers were generally quoted by Episcopalians, as are the Apostles in the New Testament, with implicit deference for their every assertion. It seems astonishing, that we cannot beat into some heads, that ought to be able to comprehend nice distinctions, (since they boast of the nicety to which Calvinism accustoms and sharpens them,) that the Fathers sustain a two-fold character—the character of *witnesses*, and the character of *divines*—and that it is in the character of witnesses only, that we appeal to them, when we wish to ascertain their suffrage for the doctrines or practices of antiquity.* We do not set up patristical tradition, as the Romanists do, as a separate and independent standard. Our doctrine respecting the authority of Scripture, as an ultimate and a sole appeal, is clearly enough laid down in our Sixth Article, and in the questions and answers of our services for ordination. The Bible, and the Bible only, is the last and highest resort for every loyal Churchman, and every loyal Christian.†

But when the quarrel is respecting the meaning of this very Bible itself; as *e. g.* whether it authorizes Episcopacy, (a point where we come into collision with the larger portion of all Protestants exclusive of ourselves:)—when concerning infant baptism; a point disputed by the Anabaptists:—when concerning the observance of Sunday, instead of the Jewish Sabbath; a point disputed by a sect said to be increasing:—

* Palmer says the Lutherans received the Fathers as *witnesses*. Palmer on Development, p. 212.

† Even Chillingworth himself however, while he subscribes to this doctrine, in language quoted ten thousand times, still admitted Tradition for the *interpretation* of Scripture. This has been fully shown, in many quotations from him, collected in Manning on the Rule of Faith. See, particularly, the summary in the notes, on p. 33d, of the Appendix to Manning.

when concerning a standing ministry and outward sacraments, points disputed by the Quakers—what are we to do? We read the Christian Scriptures as though in favor, most decidedly in favor, of an order in the ministry like the order of apostles: one superior to the more numerous orders:—as altogether in favor of infant baptism; of the observance of the Lord's Day; and of an outward organization of the Church with visible sacraments. If an appeal may not lie from the naked text of the Bible, when thus disputed about, to the Bible as understood by the Church, when the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, (all equally Divine,) were a Trinity in Unity; then, controversy must be incessant and interminable.* Then we are all equally right. Then there is no such thing as unanimity in sentiment to be derived from the Bible; and the Bible authorizes sects, and if one sect, why ten, and if ten, why a hundred or a thousand. There is no escape from the conclusion, that *present* private judgment authorizes all which present private judgment decrees: whether it be the private judgment of a pope, or of any other man. The Pope, *par eminence*, believes in the right of private judgment most fully, and exercises it in defiance of what any one else may advance, on the authority, *i. e.*, apparent authority of Church, Council, or Scripture. So does every individual, who converts himself into a pope, and decides for himself, in defiance, if need be, of all Christendom beside.

Many Protestants feel the awkwardness of such a result as this; for, as Gibbon long since said, in his well known caustic vein, of the Continental Reformers, "their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm."† Hence the endeavor of some to bolster up their favorite views, by that appeal to Antiquity, (when the Church, the Ministry, and the Scriptures were not rent asunder, as they now are,) which we commend, and stickle for. Hence Daillé, who has *really* done so much to disparage the Fathers altogether, called his book, not an attack upon them, but a treatise concerning their *right use*.‡ Hence an author, like Dr. Woods of Andover, hesitates not to appeal to the Fathers, to sustain his views of infant baptism against the Anabaptist. The Anabaptist hesitates not to appeal to them

* Selden's Tab. Talk. Article *Religion* § 10. Comp. Art. *Tradition*. Also Sophronius's opinion. Socrates's Ecc. Hist. B. ii. 40; or, p. 215, Bagster's edit.

† Decline and Fall, Ch. 54; or, Vol. x. p. 183. Milman's ed.

‡ Wall on Infant Baptism, makes some excuse for Daillé. Pt. 2, ch. 9, § 15; or vol. ii, 478.

against the Sabbatarian, who would keep the Jewish Sabbath rigidly. While the Sabbatarian, who is usually a Baptist of the hard-shell description in some particulars, would willingly employ their artillery against the Quaker ; who can find yeas and nays enough in the Bible, for any thing which it suits his fancy to adopt, or to repudiate. While the Quaker himself, if an orthodox one, (such *e. g.* as John Jacob Gurney,) would readily make the Fathers serviceable to substantiate the doctrine of the Trinity, or the religious sanctity of marriage.*

In fact, for *one* thing, we all (Papists, Anglicans, and Protestants of every name) apply to the Fathers ; for the determination of a thing, also, of more consequence than any which has been alluded to, *viz.*, Has God given a revelation to the Christian Church ; and, if so, where is it, and what is it ? The canon of the New Testament was determined by the Fathers of the Primitive Church, and not by us. We have received it from them ; and, just *as* we received it from them, do we adhere to it, and maintain it, to this current hour.

But, now, in what character have the Fathers acted, when giving us the canon of the New Testament ? In the character of Divines, publishing a system of theology ; or that of the Magdeburg Centuriators, when they constructed the famous annals, which it required all the acumen of a Baronius to disarray ? Far from it. They have presented us that canon in the simple character of witnesses. They tell us, that the Primitive Church received the same as the undoubted work of apostolic and inspired minds ; and so hand it down to us, ministerially, as an inheritance passing through themselves. We receive it as such ; but pray, why should we not receive the *meaning* which the Church that collected and transmitted it, attached to it, as well as the thing itself, under that Church's ministrations ? On the ground of bare probability, is the mind of a private Christian as likely to get at that meaning in its genuineness, as the Church which lived next to the Apostles, and was united in order and doctrine for at least three centuries ? We say *united* ; for it had nothing worse to differ about than a question which would now be deemed a trifle, a question about the *time* of observing Easter : and which of course proves, that about Easter itself, and, much more, such things as Episcopacy and the Trinity, its union was of a kind the most profound and hearty.

* Milton abuses the Fathers, when he wants to batter down Episcopacy : he quotes them abundantly, to sustain his abominable doctrine of Divorce. *Prose Wks.* roy. 8vo, p. 213, etc.

Ah, but cries the objector in his eagerness, this is hastening on too fast, and making an inference a substitute for a fact; for the Church was not agreed to the extent in question. Indeed! And was not the Church unanimous, or nearly so—sufficiently so, most assuredly, for all practical purposes, in its belief of the doctrine of the Trinity at the Council of Nice? Even Presbyterians would not deny it; nor Petavius, with all his slurs upon Ante-nicene dogmatics. Well, then, if the Church was at that time substantially a unit, in its testimony respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, was it not equally so about the character of the Church, as a great Catholic body—about infant baptism—about the sanctity of Sunday—about Episcopacy—about the observance even of a Church calendar? for, be it distinctly remembered, that the difficulty at Nice was not about a calendar, but a detail of a calendar; leaving a calendar itself, as a matter which no one dreamed of doubting as an apostolic thing. And if these facts were so, why shall we rise up against the Church and her ministry, which are just as divine as the Scriptures themselves, and deny their testimony when they agree—when they conform to Heaven's law, (Matt. xviii, 19, 20,) and act in unison? Christ promised to be in the midst of his *agreeing* followers; nay, to be with his Church, as a Catholic unity, to the world's end. (Matt. xxviii, 19, 20.) And is it intolerably audacious, is it straining the sinews of confidence to the utmost limits of heroic fortitude, to the very cracking-point, to suppose that the testimony of the Church, as such a unity, is a trifle better than the opinion of a private individual, whether a pope for a schism, or a pope for one's own self?

That, as we humbly conceive, is the true aspect in which to put this subject; for, we do not get absolved from Popery, by flying off in a tangent, and glorifying private judgment. The Pope himself is an advocate for private judgment—is the most zealous and unyielding advocate for exclusive private judgment, of whom we know. He will not consent that the Church, or the Ministry of the Church, interpret the Bible for *him*, any more than the most determined Puritan will allow his individual supremacy to be disputed or overawed. Indeed, here as elsewhere, he and the Puritan agree; and the Church and the Ministry become perfect nullities, when arrayed against the decretals of an independent mind.

Now *we* (as we read sound Church of England divines, and imbibe their spirit) are taught a totally different doctrine; which is, to submit our private interpretations to the interpretation of the Church in her coördinate and undivided capac-

ity: when, with the Bible on her right hand, and the ministry on her left, she gives an *harmonious* voice, as the body of Christ in such a predicament, and filled with his fullness of wisdom and understanding.* The Church is called the body of Christ, in just so many words. And if so, then this body must be filled with His inspiration, when it is not a *dismembered* body, (the eye saying to the hand, I have no need of thee; and the head to the feet, I have no need of you,)—when the Bible and the Ministry, which are part and parcel of the Church, are not severed from it, and constrained to act the part they were no more designed to act, than the head and the hands were designed to exert themselves separately from the trunk, *i. e.* the part of self-sustaining, and self-centred independence. And the Church did utter the harmonious voice, which comes from the fullness of her Spouse and Lord, so long as she resembled his seamless and untorn garment—so long as her three-fold unity, of a body with the Bible for its mind, and the Ministry for its working instruments, was unbroken—so long, as Bishop Ken said, as she professed the Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic faith, *before* the disunion of the East and West. For three centuries *entirely*, and occasionally afterwards for three centuries more, when she brought her sundered children together in General Councils,† the Church was a marvellous specimen of unanimity respecting *credenda et agenda*; respecting all things which are fundamental and essential, whether points of doctrine, or points of discipline. And if men will take her TESTIMONY, (we say not her dogmatic decisions, for she did not give them—presenting us the Creeds, even, as her testimony to the old faith, and not her private opinions of what ought to be the faith at any given period,‡) if, we say, men will take her TESTIMONY, there need be no serious difficulty in settling all matters of moment, about which Christendom now wrangles. If all Christendom would solemnly agree to unite on the basis of the Council of Nice, (but the first of the six genuine councils of Catholicity,) who will say that we might not have as substantial unity, as the Church then had? We use the word “substantial;” because no doubt there would be some dissentients, as there were then, and as there were in churches presided over by inspired apostles themselves. “False apostles” sprang up, while Paul

* Ephesians, i. 23, and Col. i. 24. Compare Eph. v. 23–33.

† The sixth and last Gen. Council sat in A. D. 680.

‡ Newman's Arians, pp. 252, 310. An excellent book: no abomination of desolation in it.

and John were alive; and so we have popes and false prophets now. "Damnable heresies" got vent and fame, long before the era of Inspiration had passed away. And who then need be thrown from the balance of faith in the Church, and in the Truth to which she testifies, if dissent, from the discipline or doctrine of apostolic times, should still continue? The Presbyterianism of Aërius, the Puritanism of Novatian, the seventeen Anti-trinitarian Bishops at Nice, did not make the Church of those days stagger and grow disheartened; and why should *our* faith fail if a Nevin croak, or Romanizers gravitate to their "own place?" There was substantial unity, and mutual confidence in the Church, as a whole, at the date of the great Nicene Synod; and the doctrine and discipline of the Church, at that date, might easily be taken as a basis for an "Evangelical alliance" throughout all Christendom.

But the Papist would fly from the proposition of such a basis; because, if there were Bishops at Nice, there was no Pope Pius there with his Tridentinisms. The Presbyterian would retreat from it; because, he would find himself in the trail of an Apostolic succession of Episcopates. The Anabaptist would not tolerate it; because it would make infants members of the Communion of Saints. The Socinian would scorn it; because, it would ask his imperial reason to believe God's personality different from his own. The Quaker would say nay to it; because it would adorn the Church with sacramental visibility.

And who then is to blame, if the Church is not now one, as it *was* one, in days gone by? Daillé tells us, as has been proved already, and the Cambridge Platform tells us likewise, that Protestants of all sorts can, and ought to abide, by the creeds and attestations of the first four General Councils. This is all the basis which the Church of England, or our own Church, would persistively require. Indeed, if we are correctly informed, when our missionaries were first sent into Oriental countries, they were authorized to offer Oriental Christians the right hand of fellowship, on the basis of the Nicene Creed for doctrine, and of Apostolic Episcopacy for discipline, (leaving liturgies out of the question :) a proposition to which Oriental Churches freely assented, showing that they too, as well as ourselves, are no obstacle, even to this day, to the restoration of harmony and intercommunion to the Christian world.

But, now, ask the Presbyterian brethren of Daillé, or the Congregational brethren of the Platform, or sects generally, if they would adopt the creeds of the first four General Coun-

cils, and the Episcopacy and Episcopal regimen of the first four General Councils, and our word for it, they would recoil from them, as from the lava territory around some frightful volcano, and as though they suspected that hidden fires were smouldering beneath their feet. They would feel, spontaneously, as if Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism, and all the *isms*, were in peril of giving up the very ghost, and vanishing, as the old poets have it, *in tennes auras*. They would expect us to address them in the language of Tertullian to Marcion, "If that is truer which is earlier, and that which was earlier was from the beginning, and that which was from the beginning was practiced by the Apostles themselves; then, it is evident, that that which was held sacred by Apostolic Churches descended from the Apostles."* And no doubt we should; for how the testimony of the Primitive Church is to be cut up, and parcelled out, as the Scripture itself is cut up and parcelled out, to suit schismatical and heretical perversity, we cannot see. If the testimony of the Church is good for any thing, as proving that the Church always held, and from the beginning, the doctrine of the Trinity, it is equally good to show, that the same Church held the Ministry, as constituted with Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. The testimony of the Primitive Church is just as clear, just as decisive about Catholic discipline, as about Catholic doctrine; and he who will not take its testimony, as a whole, is bound to reject it altogether, and fall back upon the principles of the Pope, who manufactures his creed for himself, and to whom his present faith is, and only is, a supreme and fundamental law.

III. Having now shown our readers that the true aspect under which to view the Fathers, is to look at them, not as Divines, giving us their opinions, but as Witnesses, telling us facts of history, it will be in order to go a step further, and make some remarks upon the precise value of their evidence, considered not as opinions, but as testimony.

It has just been hinted, that if we could persuade Presbyterians and Congregationalists to allow (what they theoretically have done) the testimony of the first four great Councils, we should be thought to commit them to that testimony, as being virtually the testimony of the Apostles themselves: agreeably to the canon which Tertullian employed against Marcion the heretic. And we are fully inclined to believe, that the most sensible among them feel this, and that this is one reason why,

* Tertullian adv. Marcion, IV, 5.

when pressed, they reject every thing but the naked text of Scripture. We are the more inclined to this opinion, because Mr. Gale, the Anabaptist, in his controversy with William Wall on infant baptism, finding himself unable to depreciate the Fathers, as some have done, takes this ground, that if the Fathers *do* prove that the Primitive Church cherished the practice of infant baptism, that such a fact does not establish the conclusion, that the Apostles countenanced the same practice.* He maintains, that the Church began to be corrupt, even in the Apostles' days; and querulously asks, why she might not be more corrupt in the times of the Nicene Council, of A. D. 325.

Now this is perpetrating a grand mistake. The Church was not corrupt because she had heretics upon her registers; any more than the whole sect of Anabaptists is hypocritical, because it has bad men within its communion, however close. We must distinguish between the Church as a Catholic body, and the sects, or disturbers, which may spring up with its borders. If the Church, *as a whole*, depart from the faith, how is she any longer Christ's body, or the receptacle of his fullness; and what becomes of the promise respecting her preservation? But the Church's testimony in a General Council, (a true General Council, which is accepted by the whole Church, and not like the bastard one of Trent, which never yet has been acknowledged by *all* Romish Europe) is her testimony as the Church of the Living God: and if that is wrong, where shall we look for stability or safety? Must we really believe Mr. Gale, sooner than the Church Catholic? That is undoubtedly the exact requisition made upon us, by the modest advocates of unlimited private judgment. To adopt for the nonce, the nomenclature of Bunyan's time, Mr. Hate-council, Mr. Away-with-bishops, and Mr. No-trinity, autocratically insist, that we should listen to them individually, and be deaf to the voice of collected Christendom beside. They demand more deference for their own tiny oracles, than for the uplifted *Amens* of the Church of God, though they come rolling over the waves of time, like thunder reverberating from the firmament.

Now we think it would be beyond all question more decorous, and more safe, to admit the conclusion, that the practice of the Church in the days of the Nicene Synod, represented the practice of the Church when the Apostles themselves were alive, far, far better, than Mr. Gale's arguments, founded upon

* Wall on Infant Baptism, iii, 218. He speaks of the mode, and; *pari ratione*, of the subject of Baptism.

the naked text of Scripture, can possibly determine such practice. We do not consider it extremely unwise, or madly dangerous, to admit the testimony of the Catholic Church to a Catholic fact; as many with a fastidiousness apparently holy, but with a pride really self-glorifying, would fain represent the matter. We say "a Catholic fact;" and we beg our readers to mark the phraseology with care. We do not value the testimony of the Fathers of the Primitive Church, (separately and individually considered,) so much as some imagine. It is their *consenting*, or their *uncontradicted* testimony, which we prize so highly. And it is their testimony to *Catholic*, rather than to *subordinate*, or *isolated* particulars, to which we look with special deference.*

Thus, if we found the Fathers of the East, and the Fathers of the West, divided about the Trinity itself, as they are about the Procession of the Holy Ghost, from one or from two persons in the Godhead; we might hesitate, as we now do not, to call the Trinity a fundamental of the faith. If we found them differing about infant baptism, as we do about the trine, or the single application of the element of water; we should not call infant baptism a chief feature in Christian discipline. If we found them faulting each other for practicing such a rite as Confirmation, as Photius of Constantinople did his brother patriarch of Rome, for confining its administration to Bishops only;† then we could not have esteemed the rite, however appropriate and beautiful, Apostolic in its origin. If all of the Fathers had objected to oaths, as some of them have done; then, although with our present predilections the effort would be uncomfortably onerous, we might have felt obligated to pay due and canonical subservience to drab broadcloth, and hat-brims of four inch platitude.‡

And so if we have but a single witness, (as in the case of Justin Martyr, in his description of the liturgic forms of early Christian assemblies,) if his testimony should be contravened, we should not give it our acquiescence; as we do not to Justin's disputed testimony, respecting the statue and worship of Simon Magus.§ But in his account of the forms in question, Justin has stood allowed by all Christendom to this very day;

* Comp. Waterland's Works, six vols. ed. vi, 162. Vincent's Commonitory, Chap. xxiii.

† Photii Epistolæ, ed. 1651, p. 50. Waddington's Church History, English Edit. p. 197.

‡ Reeves's Apologies, i, 38, note, on the opinions of the Fathers about oaths.

§ Bishop Kaye's Justin, second edition, p. 125.

and we think, therefore, that his record may be accepted without the slightest qualm. That the non-catholic, or particular customs of the Church were always, and in all respects, the same—that the external minutiae of Christianity were invariable—we, however, by no means maintain; since St. Paul expressly says, “We have no such custom, neither the Churches of God,” yet interdicts not the custom at variance with his own. (I Cor. xi, 16.) And this, too, when he could assume a pope-like style, that Peter never dared to do; “and so ordain I in all Churches.” (I Cor. vii, 17.)* And our own Church, in her xxxivth Article, distinctly admits; “It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like.” We know, also, that this variation may extend to matters which are doctrinal, as well as to subjects which belong to the department of discipline alone; as, for instance, to the Millenium, and the interpretation of prophecy.

It is no disparagement, then, of the testimony of the Fathers, that it is sometimes given us concerning subordinate particulars, about which it is not uniform or consentient. It is uniform and consentient, about catholic points, about fundamental points—things which enter into the very constitution of doctrine, like the Trinity of persons in the Godhead; into the constitution of discipline, like the Trinity of orders in the Ministry; into the constitution of worship, like the Trinity of rites, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist. The testimony of the Fathers may no doubt be overrated, as well as underrated. They are not to be relied upon as *Divines*, more than any other men; except according to the measure of their intelligence, learning, and piety. Augustine may have broached sentiments about predestination, which we are by no means obligated to succumb to. Cyprian certainly took a stand respecting the baptism of the lapsed, which the Church at large has never seconded. Athenagoras makes no mention of the sacraments, and Tatian believed in the mortality of the human soul; but what scholar would feel much disturbed, if the Quakers should quote the first, and Materialists the last, as vouchers for present religious sentiment? Tertullian became a Montanist, Jerome a monk, and Origen an eunuch; but who esteems them any thing but a law unto themselves? Hundreds of Primitive Christians fell into grievous mistakes about martyrdom, and courted persecution; yet no modern believer, in his sober senses, therefore esteems it

* The Greek is very strong, διαρασσαι.

requisite for him to establish a religious character, by provoking the civil authorities to put restraints upon his liberty. On the contrary, as Dr. South has most pithily observed, the man who thrusts himself against the sword of persecution, runs to heaven before he is sent for; where, though the Lord may in mercy receive the man, he will be sure to disown the martyr.*

All this we conceive it entirely safe and easy to admit, and still hold fast by the canon, which was so well understood, even in the early ages of the Church, *viz.* that what has been everywhere, and always, and by all, admitted, or uncontradicted, is to be accepted as the testimony of the Primitive Church, to the signification of the primitive records of the Church; and as (if such things can be reached by testimony) a pledge that the Apostolic Church, and the Apostles themselves, read the Scriptures in *one* way, rather than in a hundred ways, and did not make such butchery of doctrine, discipline, and worship, as we do in these days of lawlessness, when each individual is his own church, his own priest, his own Bible, and his own Redeemer. This rule, even Richard Baxter, in his "moral prognostication" of the changes that will take place in Christendom in the golden age, confesses to be so essential, as to constitute the basis on which inquirers must go for settlement of difficulties, at that most auspicious period.† It is usually ascribed to Vincent of the monastery of Lirins, an island in the Mediterranean, off the south coast of France; though we are quite disposed to believe, that Vincent, if its putative author, got it, or the hint which suggested it, from the lawyers; who now use it, to all intents and purposes, in the interpretation of statutes in courts of justice, and who determined the signification of the Civil Law in that way essentially, if not technically.‡

Interpretation is no new thing. It is no exclusive thing. Lawyers know as much or more about it, than any people; and ancient Canon lawyers were no strangers to its rational doctrines, as the Civil and the Canon law were so blended in

* South's Serm. Oxf. edit. i, 74.

† Baxter's Prac. Wks. by Orme, vol. xv, p. 430.

‡ See Thesaurus Juris Romani, by Otto, vol. ii, p. 1618. Antiquity, Universality, and Constancy, are the *criteria* there alluded to. Perhaps these are better than Antiquity, Universality, and Consent; since a consent seems implied in Universality, and constancy implies a perpetual succession, which consent does not. And, assuredly, we believe in the apostolic succession of doctrine, as well as of discipline.

the administration of the Roman Empire.* Lawyers are perfectly aware, that the moment the signification of a statute is disputed, the first question to be asked is, What has been the usage under that statute?† An intelligent lawyer would never be surprised, or discomposed, to hear us say, when the statute law of Christianity (which is the New Testament) is disputed, that the only way to determine the true meaning of it, is to ascertain the usage under it, and of course contemporary usage in preference to any other; that is, the usage of Christian Antiquity; that is, in still other words, the testimony of the Primitive Church, as given by the Christian Fathers, and in the early councils acknowledged by both the East and West.

We are accused (we know it well) of magnifying and exalting tradition. We make no more of it than our courts of law are doing, every day and every hour. We apply it for doubtful, disputed, vexatious constructions.‡ If the law were so perspicuous, that we could all read it in one way, tradition is a word which would never be sounded in our lecture rooms, and still less in our pulpits. But the law is *not* perspicuous. At least, such is the plain and perpetual language of our practice under it, and respecting it. The Presbyterian will no more give up his ministerial parity, then we will our apostolic succession. The Papist will insist, that Matthew xvi, 18, makes the Bishop of Rome the vicerent of God for the terraqueous globe. The Anabaptist will as soon (so we once heard an educated man among them declare) baptize a little pig, as a little child. Socinus was as confident that he was right, as that he held his hat in his hand;§ and in the article of self-assurance, all his disciples have imitated him with punctilious particularity. The Quaker would as soon let you bore his tongue through with a red-hot iron, under the old Puritan enactment, as put a stop to its yeas, and nays, and thees.

What shall be done then? are we all right? do we all read the statute right? all act aright under our fundamental law? Why men would laugh us to scorn, if the subject were some provision passed by the votes of a legislature, or an article in our Federal Constitution. All would assent, spontaneously, if the subject were a *political*, and not a religious one, to the common sense of Irenaeus, when he asks, For what if any

* Hence the value of some knowledge of the Civil Law to a divine.—Irving's Int. to Civil Law, pp. 110, 111.

† Comp. Brit. Critic, x, 384.

‡ Waterland said Antiquity was to be used *ministerially*. Wks. iii, 604.

§ Bibliotheca Fratrum Pol. ii, 768.

persons have any doubt concerning any ordinary question, ought they not to have recourse to the most ancient churches, amidst which the Apostles lived, and ascertain from them what is clear and certain with regard to the question in dispute? * Well, then, we again say, what shall be done? What *can* be done, but (what courts and lawyers are perpetually doing) go back to usage, and contemporaneous construction? But that is to go to unwritten law—that is to become traditionists; and to be a traditionist, is to be a Puseyite, a Papist, a Jesuit, an emissary of the devil in human shape—

O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason!

We could say a great deal more, in expansion of our subject, if it were necessary; and could defend the Fathers as *men*, and as *Divines*, as well as *witnesses* to facts, if that were peculiarly our bent, or the main object of the present paper. The *morality* of the Fathers has been seriously assailed in the scuffle with Popery; especially on the subject of pious frauds. Even such a man as Chrysostom is arraigned by Bulwer, in his romance called the Caxtons, as the abettor of systematic lying.† On becoming acquainted with the ideas of the Primitive Church respecting (catechetical, as we should call it—oiconomic, as it was then called) instruction, which requires a seeming reserve in the communication of knowledge, or a communication of it adapted to the capacities of a learner, our readers would probably be satisfied, that this is no more than St. Paul, or our Saviour himself, has adventured.

The *critical* powers of the Fathers have been called in question, and derided, times without number. And, yet, go to the commentaries of such men as you would expect to find paying these critical powers least deference; (a person, for instance, like Mr. Prof. Stuart of Andover, whose favorite theme of declamation is, to call no man master,) and notice how often just such a theological Don Quixote appeals to the Fathers, for their constructions of sentences and words.

Their excellence as pleaders for truth, (or *apologists* as the old phrase ran,) whether before infidels, or heretics, or Christian assemblies, has been least doubted; and we would not subjoin a single word about it, did we not fear that the tendency of the times, with too many, is to render them ignorant of their

* De Haeres, B. iii, ch. 4.

† Beausobre, in his History of Manicheism, strives to prove that the Fathers are worthy of no credit. Burton's Early Heresies, Int. p. xxi.

rhetorical merits, as well as indifferent to their historical fidelity. Let students consult such old books as D'Oyley's *Christian Eloquence*, and Rollin's *Belles Letters*, and they will discover that it was not as common formerly, as it now is, for scholars to disesteem the rhetoric of the Fathers. Those persons are most apt to think the Fathers knew nothing about pulpit eloquence, who look upon the pulpit as a rostrum for a display of *men*, rather than *Christians*; and to show how well one can speak for himself, rather than his Master; and for his own fame, more than for famishing souls.*

However, with the morality, and the criticisms, and the rhetoric of the Fathers, it is not so much our present calling to deal. We are now principally concerned with them, as historical testifiers; for it is their testimony about matters of doctrine, which Dr. Nevin, *et id genus omne*, chiefly disparage. As testifiers to orthodox catholicity, we have defended them from aspersion, and commended them to respectful and earnest homage. And if our readers think we have dwelt too zealously upon their value, as witnesses to such truth, and to the genuine construction of Scripture, as understood and exemplified by that Church, which our Homilies pronounce most uncorrupt and pure, (the Church of primitive times,) then let us beg them to listen to the following eulogy of Daillé, who, (enemy of the Fathers as most esteem him,) cannot here and there refrain from spontaneous bursts in their praise. "How much more advantage then may we make, by studying the writings of the Fathers, whose *piety* and *learning* were, for the most part, much greater than that of the moderns! * * Blot out, if you please, the name of St. Augustine out of the title of those excellent books of his, *De Civitate Dei*; or those other which he wrote, *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. His writings will instruct you, not a whit the less; neither will you find the less benefit from them. *The like may be said of all the rest*. First of all, you will find in the Fathers many earnest and zealous exhortations to holiness of life, and to the observance of the discipline of Jesus. Secondly, you will there meet with very strong and solid proofs of those fundamental principles of religion, on which we are all agreed; and also many excellent things developed, tending to the right understanding of these mysteries, and also of the Scriptures wherein they are contain-

* Fleury's Discourses, translated. Disc. ii, § 15, 16, pp. 100-106.—Du Pin, on the devotion of the Fathers to profane learning. *Method of Studying Divinity*, p. 80, etc.

ed. In this very particular their authority may be of good use to you, and may serve as a probable argument of the truth. For is it not a wonderful thing, to see that so many great wits, born in so many several ages, during the space of fifteen hundred years, and in so many several countries, being also of such different tempers, and who in other things were of such contrary opinions, should, notwithstanding, be found all of them to agree, so constantly and unanimously, in the fundamentals of Christianity? that amidst such diversity in worship, they all adore one and the same Christ? preach one and the same sanctification? hope all of them for one and the same immortality? acknowledge all of them the same Gospels? find therein all of them great and high mysteries?"*

What sectarian who feels the glow, and catches the spirit of these sentences, will refuse to conclude with us, in the language of Barrow; "Can we mistake, or miscarry, by complying with the great body of God's Church through all ages; and particularly with those great lights of the Primitive Church, who, by the excellency of Christian knowledge, and the integrity of their virtue, have so illustrated our holy Religion?"†

* Daille on the Fathers. Translated, pp. 347, 48. London, 1841.

† Barrow's Wks. Hughes' edit. Vol. iii. Sermon 56, p. 398.

HALIBURTON AND HILDRETH, AND THE NORTH
AMERICAN REVIEW.

ART. II.—*Rule and Misrule of the English in America.* By the author of "Sam Slick," &c. London and New York, 1851.

North American Review for October, 1851, Art. V.

Hildreth's History of the United States.

It is the object of Judge Haliburton's new book to show that however government on the democratic republican plan may have succeeded in the late English colonies, now the United States of America, it is not adapted to the colony of Canada, and cannot succeed there; and still less in Great Britain or France.

As grounds for this conclusion, he undertakes to establish, by a review of the colonial history of the United States, two propositions; first, that those States were always republican in spirit, and independent in fact for many years after their first plantation, so that the revolution which separated them from the mother country was not a sudden outburst, but a progressive growth, which sprang from seeds planted at the beginning; second, that the existing political system of the United States, instead of dating from the American revolution, dates back to the very commencement of the colonies, being wholly based upon ideas and institutions familiar to the colonists from the earliest times, or introduced and firmly established long previous to the revolution.

The commencement of the first chapter seems to imply that this is the first attempt at any such generalization. But that is very far from being the case. While the American revolution was yet in progress, the first of Judge Haliburton's two leading ideas, was started by George Chalmers, who had been a lawyer in Maryland under the proprietary government, and who, on being driven away by the declaration of independence, had obtained a clerkship under the Board of Trade. He published at London in 1781 his well known "Political Annals," a quarto volume, in which the history of the colonies is traced from their settlement to the English revolution of 1689, for the very purpose, among others, of showing their rebellious

*Burke
Epistle
Consid
-ation*

temper from the beginning. This same idea was followed up and still more exclusively, in another work, containing a summary or abridgment of the *Political Annals*, and carrying down the political history of the colonies to the conquest of Canada. This latter work was partly printed by Chalmers, but suppressed for some unknown reasons, nor was it published till 1845, when it was issued from a Boston press. Both these works, though disfigured by absurd attempts at imitating Gibbon's fashion of telling things by implication instead of directly, and by a grandiloquence little suited to the subject, are yet exceedingly valuable for the mass of extracts which they contain from unpublished papers in the colonial office, from which Chalmers, with great industry and good judgment, has selected such portions as suited his purpose. The "*Political Annals*" have long been familiar to all students of American history; and our American writers, viewing the charge of early republicanism, and impatience under external control which Chalmers brought in the spirit of accusation, as in fact a high compliment to our ancestors, have not failed to give a full development to that idea.

Nor is the other leading suggestion of this book, that the existing political institutions of America are a natural growth from colonial times without any violent changes or sudden innovations, at all more original. This was in fact a favorite idea of the old Federal Party, more or less distinctly expressed in general terms, by many writers; and very fully brought out in all its particulars, and with many curious and remarkable details, in the first three volumes of Mr. Hildreth's new *History of the United States*, published in 1849. In this part of Judge Haliburton's book, and indeed throughout the whole of it, he is under much greater obligations to Mr. Hildreth's *History* than he has thought it necessary to acknowledge. He has treated it in fact very much as the ruins of the old temples and other public buildings at Rome used to be treated by the modern inhabitants, digging into it without remorse, as if it were a mere quarry, and quietly carrying off and working into his own edifice, stones squared and polished, and columns shaped by an industry not his own. This may be well enough in case of ruins abandoned and deserted; but whether a house which has a living tenant in it, can fairly be treated in this way, is another question. As a matter of curiosity we have made the following list of passages extracted from Mr. Hildreth's *History*, verbatim, or with very trifling alterations, for which no acknowledgment is made, which is

the more remarkable, as the Judge, lawyer-like, does profess to give his authorities, and does several times refer to, and purport to quote from Mr. Hildreth's History of the United States. Here is the list. Page 53, Account of the dispute in Massachusetts, respecting the power of the Assistants. Compare Hildreth, vol. i, 220, 221; p. 67, Massachusetts in 1640. Compare Hildreth, vol. i, 267; p. 78, 79, Parliamentary council for the colonies. Compare Hildreth, vol. i, 304, 305; p. 94, Charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, Hildreth, vol. i, p. 456, 457; p. 115, Massachusetts and Charles II, Hildreth, vol. i, 496. (In attempting to improve this passage the Judge has fallen into some curious blunders. Randolph, the great enemy of Massachusetts, being mentioned in it, the Judge undertakes to explain that hostility in an interpolated sentence, in which it is ascribed to Randolph's imprisonment with Sir Edmund Andros—which imprisonment, as presently appears in the Judge's own book, did not take place till twelve years after! Mr. Hildreth writes, "they voted a present to the king, of cranberries," "special good samp," and "codfish." Judge Haliburton copies thus—"a present to the king of some cranberries, a *special good samp*," as they were designated, and also some codfish;"—seeming to take "samp" as a contraction for sample; and not knowing that it was only another Indian name for the same dish known further South as hominy.) P. 143, first appearance of the surplice in Massachusetts, Hildreth, vol. ii, p. 109; p. 168-9, Cotton Mather or Witchcraft, Hildreth, vol. ii, 150-1; p. 177, Early ecclesiastical laws of Virginia, Hildreth, vol. i, 126; p. 184, Massachusetts body of liberties, Hildreth, vol. i, 274-9; p. 188, Massachusetts laws as to new townships, Hildreth, vol. i, 225; p. 189, United Colonies of New England, Hildreth, vol. i, 286; p. 191, Massachusetts school law, Hildreth, vol. i, 370; p. 204, Officers in the Massachusetts Churches, Hildreth, vol. i, 190; p. 205, synod of 1648, Hildreth, vol. i, 327, 8; p. 208, Comparative strength of the French and English Colonies at the commencement of the intercolonial wars, Hildreth, vol. ii, 127; p. 230-31, Origin and powers of the Board of Trade, Appeals, Courts of Admiralty and Acts of Trade, Hildreth, vol. ii, 197-8; p. 249, Episcopacy in New England, Hildreth, vol. ii, 307-8; p. 251, Post Offices in the Colonies, Hildreth, vol. ii, 262; p. 265, Efforts and expenditures of the Colonies for the conquest of Canada, Hildreth, vol. ii, 514; p. 266, The Parson's due in Virginia, Hildreth, vol. ii, 508-9; p. 272, Otis' pamphlet, Hildreth, vol. ii, 522; p. 275, Barré and Henry, Hildreth, vol. ii, 524-6; p.

277, Boston Stamp Act Riots, Hildreth, vol. ii, 527; p. 283, Stamp Act Congress, Hildreth, vol. ii, 529-31; p. 283-85, State of Parties in England; Pitt; repeal of the Stamp Act, Hildreth, vol. ii, 533-36; p. 287, Townshend's Acts, Hildreth, vol. ii, 537-8; p. 288, Quartering Act in New York and Georgia, Hildreth, vol. ii, p. 540; p. 291, Replies to the Massachusetts Circular, Hildreth, vol. ii, 545; p. 295, Bernard's departure, proceedings in various Colonies, Hildreth, vol. ii, 551-2; p. 296, Boston Massacre, Hildreth, vol. ii, 555-6; p. 297, North's first attempt at pacification, Hildreth, vol. ii, 557-8; p. 298, Boston Committee on rights and grievances, Hildreth, vol. ii, 560-61; p. 305-6, Last Colonial General Court of Massachusetts, Hildreth, vol. iii, 36-7; p. 306, Continental Congress, Hildreth, vol. iii, p. 387, Massachusetts Congress, Hildreth, vol. iii, 47-8. We have passed by lesser excerpts, confining ourselves to the appropriation of entire paragraphs, or series of paragraphs, to the extent sometimes of a page or more. Considering this very free appropriation of unacknowledged passages, we are not surprised that by way of introduction to one of the few paragraphs admitted to be borrowed, [p. 277,] Mr. Hildreth is spoken of "as decidedly the most able and impartial of American historians." The question being to set out a table with borrowed meats, it is but natural that one should help himself to the best, or what he esteems such. But whether this casual compliment, apparently paid rather to serve a purpose of his own in giving additional weight to a particular observation, than out of any feeling of obligation or disposition to acknowledge it, will be, or ought to be, entirely satisfactory to the author, whose labors are thus freely appropriated, does not seem to us quite so clear.

Having thus referred to the sources whence Judge Haliburton has derived his leading ideas, most of his facts, and a large part of his very language, we are obliged to add that his method of stating and maintaining the argument, leaves his readers, such of them as depend upon him for their information, entirely in the dark, as to whether or not there is any force in it, or grounds for the conclusion which he seeks to draw. Everybody who knows any thing of America, knows that Massachusetts and the New England States are not the only States in the Union. It was not by those States alone that the revolution was sustained, and the Federal Constitution formed, nor have they alone enjoyed the benefits of self-government. Everybody who knows any thing of American history, knows that the Union included, from the beginning,

two other groups of States, in many respects exceedingly different both from New England and from each other. The group of Middle States, (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware,) differed from the New England States in several particulars, to which, in his argument, Judge Haliburton ascribes great importance. The inhabitants were not of "common origin, speaking the same language." They included Dutch, Germans in very considerable numbers, Scotch and Scotch-Irish, immigrants from England, and immigrants from New England, very discordant materials, and by no means free from prejudices and antipathies of race and class. There was a much less degree of that social equality, which prevailed in New England, and to which so much importance is ascribed in the argument. There were no free schools, and a large part of the population was entirely uneducated. There was a large class of indented servants, or those who had been so; there was a body of wealthy landed proprietors, forming a natural aristocracy; then, as to religion, another point to which a great political importance is ascribed, there was no public religious establishment of any sort, or but a very partial one; and the people were divided among a multitude of sects, not without the jealousies, hostilities and rivalries naturally growing out of such a state of things. Thus the mutual rivalry of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians produced a strong effect on the politics of New York.

The group of Southern States, (Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,) presented a very different aspect. Here there was still less of social equality or means of general education. Nearly half the population, in some districts more than half, were slaves. There was a large body of indented servants or their descendants. In the back settlements of the Carolinas, there was as great a mixture of races as in Pennsylvania—a large proportion of them recent immigrants from Europe. In their religious ideas and establishments, these Southern States differed greatly from those further North. The inhabitants were good Churchmen; the Church of England was established and supported in all these Colonies by law. The Roman Catholics of Maryland, were but a handful; the dissenters, once numerous in the Carolinas, had, before the revolution, conformed in a great measure to the Established Church; and, perhaps, in no part of the British dominions were the doctrines and discipline of that Church more generally acquiesced in than in Virginia. Not that there was any special Church zeal; for there was little or

nothing to call it out. But there *was* a general spirit of acquiescence, undisturbed by doubts or questionings, such as perhaps cannot readily be pointed out elsewhere.

Now our author has simplified the argument,—but at the same time totally destroyed the force of it,—by leaving the middle and Southern States entirely out of the account. He has confined himself to New England, and even to Massachusetts. From the great length at which he goes into the Puritan church system, and the stress which he lays upon it in the argument, one would suppose him to think that none but Puritans could ever make republicans, and that only dissenters and fanatics are capable of self-government.

But here arises this pregnant question, which every thoughtful reader will be apt to put, and to which the book before us furnishes no answer whatever: How happened it then that the Cavaliers and Churchmen of Virginia were just as forward and as active in the work of the revolution, as the Puritans of New England? Patrick Henry was a Churchman, and Samuel Adams a son and representative of the old Puritans; but both were as decided in politics as in their religious opinions. Who more steady and unyielding in most trying times than John Jay? The religious body that adhered as a body, as well as by its individual members to the side of the mother country, was not the Church of England, but the society of Quakers. The wild Scotch Highlanders and the German population proved far more adhesive than those of English descent. Indeed, the native born Britons, resident in the colonies, furnished a supply of active and conspicuous leaders, very large in proportion to their whole number. It is plain then that Judge Haliburton's collection of facts is not broad enough to sustain the argument founded upon it. He shows, or attempts to show, how and why republicanism sprang up and grew in New England, and why it succeeds there; and if New England were the whole of the United States; or if Puritanism, education by common schools, equality of ranks, and all the peculiarities which he dwells on in his book, had been, or were now, common to all the rest of the States, then his argument would be entitled to weight. But vulnerable and defective as it stands, it will, we very much fear, have but little influence with those inclined to republican innovations; and just as little with the British ministry and parliament, to induce them, which seems to be one chief object of it, to abandon the system of "responsible government" lately introduced into the principal British colonies, very much as it appears to Judge Haliburton's disgust.

Did occasion call for it, we think we could make an historical argument quite equal, at least, to any thing brought forward in this book, tending to show that this very system of "responsible government" is not only the strongest possible political assimilation between the social system of the colonies and that of the mother country, but is altogether the most promising method yet suggested of continuing with comfort and satisfaction to both parties their political connection; a connection which, for various reasons, we desire to see continued for at least a considerable period; not only out of our friendly regard for both the parties more immediately interested, but also out of special motives of our own, as citizens of the United States.

But at present we shall advert only to one point, as to which Judge Haliburton seems very anxious, and that is, the restoration wished for of the old method of the appointment of counsellors and other officers solely by the governor, who comes into the colony a stranger, or by the colonial minister at home, who must always be a stranger, uninfluenced (as under the new system) by the advice, or rather the dictation, of a colonial ministry, who owe their places to their power to command a parliamentary majority.

There will no doubt be a sufficiency of bad appointments by either method; but the choice really being between appointments at the dictation of a little colony "clique" or "family connection"—phrases which Judge Haliburton does not seem much to like—who contrive to get and to keep the ear of governors and colonial secretaries, and the dictation of those who for the time being possess the confidence of the majority of the electors,—there does not really seem any occasion to hesitate.

There are, no doubt, strong objections to concentrating too much power in the hands of an assembly, so as to enable them to control all departments of the government. Judge Haliburton quotes (p. 334) a strong passage from Jefferson, written while he was governor of Virginia, or shortly after, denouncing such a concentration of powers as a despotism. Yet it is worthy of remark that such continued to be the form of government in Virginia for seventy-five years from the declaration of independence down to the forming of the new constitution, which has just been carried into effect. Nor does the political experience of the United States induce them to get rid of this evil, by going back to the old idea embodied in the Federal Constitution and in several of the

State Constitutions, of vesting the appointing power in the chief magistrate alone,—who, as is proved by experience, will, and commonly does, act, not according to his own conscientious judgment, but at the dictation of political cliques. On the other hand, some of the most conservative of our statesmen are inclined to look with favor on the experiments recently tried by several States, of avoiding such influences as much as possible, by referring the selection of all important officers directly to the popular vote; which method Judge Haliburton will no doubt think is jumping from the frying-pan into the fire.

As to his idea, that by any method of appointment, it is possible to constitute in the colonies a body answering in any thing but name and form to the British House of Peers, or that mere life tenure of office can give a social weight and position independent of other support, we beg leave to refer him to the very judicious observations upon that head, made by Wilson in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, a reference to which he will find on p. 493 of the third volume of Hildreth's History.

But while our author will fail, we fear, to make much impression either upon advocates for republicanism, whether in Europe or America, or upon the British government, we are somewhat apprehensive, lest in the ardor of his zeal, he may have got himself personally into a predicament, or if not personally, at least in his capacity as an author. He has fairly thrown down the glove to our New England brethren of Puritan descent and sympathies, attacking their fathers as to their doings both in Church and State, with very little of moderation. Now, if the Judge did not know it already, at least his shrewd old friend, Sam Slick, might have whispered in his ear, that the Yankees of the present day, like their Puritan progenitors, are men with whom one may not safely get into a quarrel, whether to be decided by blows or words, without good preparation; and even then he must be pretty adroit at fencing who shall escape wholly unscathed. We think the Judge himself refers to an uncomfortable practice early introduced into Massachusetts of "whipping and cropping the ears of such as slandered the government and churches, or otherwise gave a bad report of the country." Now we do not suppose that the Judge's back or his bodily ears are in any great danger, even should he be caught, like another Morton of Merry Mount, walking the streets of Boston, or even attempting, like that eminent worthy, to set up a maypole in that

vicinity,—an exploit to which the Judge refers with gusto,—though, should he undertake to carry out the precedent by “broaching a cask of wine and a hogshead of ale,” and should the Maine temperance law be enacted in the mean time in Massachusetts, which is not improbable, we cannot tell how that attempt might turn out. But we do look, every day, with fear and trembling, expecting to see our unfortunate friend stuck fast, nailed up by the ears in some critical New England pillory. And we must privately tell him, without going into particulars here, lest it might give an advantage to the enemy, that in the excess of his zeal against dissent and disloyalty, and out of a very unnecessary and superfluous effort to gild the refined gold and to paint the lily of Puritanism, he has fallen into some unfortunate mistakes and misrepresentations as to matters of fact, and quite unwarranted inferences as to motives, which one who knows how to make so good a use of Mr. Hildreth’s “able and impartial history,” ought to have avoided; and which we are afraid may, first or last, expose their author to some pretty severe critical castigation. That painful duty falls not to us. It would indeed be a great work of supererogation, not to say of impertinence, to interfere on behalf of those so abundantly able to defend themselves and their own. We might expect to be rebuked in the words of Othello—

Put up your swords!

Both you of my inclining, and the rest.

If it had been my cue to fight, I should have known it

Without a prompter!

Yet we cannot quit this topic without suggesting to the Judge the safety and expediency, as well as the justice, of giving even the — his due.

If any thing, however, could justify, as it certainly does tend to provoke, extravagance of attack, it would be the absurd lengths of defence, and even of eulogy, which the pious sons of the Puritans are ready to go, bearing off their fathers, like Æneas of old, out of the very midst of the flames, and in spite too of the most apparent danger of being themselves not a little scorched in the process.

One of the most remarkable specimens which we recollect ever to have seen of this ultra-pious self-sacrifice, almost equal indeed to the self-devotion with which Hindo widows mount the funeral piles of their husbands, is exhibited in the publication which stands second at the head of this article, purporting to be a Review of Hildreth’s History of the United States,

the three volumes of the first series, and the first volume of the second.

We must confess to have felt a little curiosity before reading it, as to what the contents of this article might be. Anybody of any critical discernment, who had read Mr. Hildreth's work, could not fail to perceive, that he was at least a person of some originality, evidently not belonging to any of those cliques or "societies for mutual admiration," as they have been sometimes called, into which the literati of our modern Athens are divided. It is plain that the school of elegant mediocrity and Boston common place, over which the North American Review authoritatively presides—a periodical which in its whole seventy-three volumes does not contain, to the best of our recollection, one single article which the world will not willingly let die—cannot claim him as one of their number. Neither does he seem much disposed to indulge in those transcendental flights, a sort of revived and modified Hutchinsonianism and Gortonism, in which young New England delights to expatiate, reminding one of Satan's famous journey through Chaos:

Nigh founder'd, on he fares,
Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half-flying; behoves him now both oar and sail.
As when a gryphon through the wilderness
With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
Pursues the Arimaspiæ, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd,
The guarded gold: so eagerly the fiend
O'er bog or steep, thro' strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

Indeed we should judge him to be one of those men ill adapted to command the special favor of any party, sect, or clique, from a habit he has of probing things to the bottom, stripping off disguises, and stating matters as they seem to him really to have been, careless apparently whom they may tell against, or whose sympathies and antipathies they may conflict with. Yet as we all like to know the real character of our neighbors, however little disposed to understand our own, this is a quality, which though it may not secure for this History the enthusiastic admiration of any particular sect or party, is well calculated, in the long run, to gain the confidence and respect of the public. For it is very certain that an honest historian must not only have no disposition to deceive others—a quality perhaps sufficiently common—but no disposition to deceive himself, one of the rarest things under the sun.

Fingunt simul creduntque, says Tacitus, and this description will embrace a very large proportion of those who write or compile histories, including nine out of ten of those who have written on American affairs. Bishop Thirlwall describes Mitford's Greece as "a work which though cast in an historic form, was intended to convey not historic information, but first of all opinions, and then such facts as could be made to square with them;" and this criticism will apply with great exactness to the two best known predecessors of Mr. Hildreth in the relation of American colonial affairs, Grahame and Bancroft. Grahame was indeed a man of honest purpose, but of very limited capacity, and so defective in taste as to find in Mathers' *Magnalia*, a classical history. He admires with such blind confidence, as seldom to see any thing wrong in his heroes; and therefore so far as mere facts are concerned, he generally states matters with as much fulness as his limited resources in that respect would admit; and with as much clearness and precision as the great disadvantages under which he labored as a foreigner, and his own muddy conception of things and most tedious style will allow. Bancroft brings forward, or keeps back his facts with the skill of a pratised rhetorician, of which we stop here to notice only this curious instance. He devotes more than fifty pages to a very extravagant and excessive glorifying of the theory of Quakerism, as set forth, not so much in America as in England, with an account of Penn's ante-American career, and an elaborate contrast between him and Locke, much to the disadvantage of the latter; neither of them however, being figures entitled to appear with such labored conspicuity in our American History; while the actual account of the colonies of Pennsylvania and Delaware, to which all this is to serve as a portico, is disposed of in less than forty pages, devoted almost exclusively to the two visits of Penn to America, less than four years in the whole. Of the curious and very instructive colonial history of Pennsylvania for the remaining sixty years, embraced in Bancroft's volumes, hardly any notice whatever is taken. We have full length portraits of Penn and of Quakerism, according to the author's conceptions of them, but the colony of Pennsylvania, and the actual flesh and blood Quakers there living, we hardly catch a glimpse of. Why, is pretty obvious—for even that slight glimpse is in most striking contrast to the labored eulogium, whether on Penn personally or on Quakerism, by which it is preceded. Penn's theory of government might have been, in theory, as superior to Locke's as Mr. Bancroft represents, but in prac-

tice it does not seem to have succeeded so remarkably better. Reason enough why so very little about its working should be found in Mr. Bancroft's pages.

But it is not alone from the want of historians, upright in intellect as well as honest in will, that our American History has been exhibited under false lights. There was a practice in Rome of pronouncing funeral orations over the dead of illustrious families; and the orators, for want of any thing great in the dead man before them to eulogize, were often obliged to go back to his ancestors. Thus removed beyond the check of living memory, and with little regard to the obscure records of obscure times, every great Roman family invented for its ancestors a multiplicity of triumphs, and battles, and wonderful achievements, furnishing the staple out of which Livy spun his first ten books; from which three-fold cord of crimson and gold, the wonderfully patient and ingenious Niebuhr labors, almost in vain, to disentangle the single homely fibre of truth. Our history too is in similar danger from a similar source; and when in his preface, perhaps with a little too much of reckless valor, which considering the multitudinous array on the other side, may look something like bravado, Mr. Hildreth declares open war against "centennial sermons and Fourth of July orations," he assumes to himself a task equal to at least two of the labors of Hercules; those of cleansing the Augean stable, and of cutting off the constantly multiplying heads of the hydra of the marsh of Lerna. Nevertheless it is a good and much needed work; and we bid him God speed in it. This perpetual eulogy on our ancestors is but another way of praising ourselves; a ministration to that national vanity, which if it does no other harm, which is a great deal more than we would be willing to answer for, makes us perpetually ridiculous in the eyes of other nations.

To paint all in blazing and brilliant colors, as in the tombs of Egypt, exhibits but the infancy of art. It is only by the judicious laying on of shadows, that the real proportions, the true perspective begin to appear. Still the artist who shall first go about to curtail the monstrous proportions under which the idols and deified heroes of any nation have been usually exhibited, who shall venture to remove the distorted mask under which the true features have been hid, to cut down the high heeled buskins which elevated ordinary mortals into giants, and to withdraw the gorgeous drapery, in which, according to the ideas of upholsterers, beauty mainly consists, will hardly escape being called most severely to account for this daring piece of impiety.

Was it Praxiteles, or what other eminent sculptor of ancient Greece, who was near being banished on a charge of atheism, because he had left out some traditional deformity from his statue of Zeus, whom he chose to represent as the perfection of manly dignity? Our temerarious and unfortunate historian, having been guilty of a similar piece of impiety towards the household gods, and canonized fathers of Puritan New England, at least so far as the stripping off of drapery is concerned, seems in danger of sharing a like fate. The *North American Review* raises against him the damaging outcry of irreligious irreverence, so that he stands exposed, not only to perpetual banishment from that delectable Parnassus, over which that Review so worthily presides; but, the good old Puritan law against blasphemy being, as it seems, still in force in Massachusetts, for aught we know, he may be subject to indictment and condemnation, and thus be made to expiate his sins, not merely like Judge Haliburton in a critical pillory, but in some good stone jail—if indeed the sentence of the court do not carry him to the state prison, which we believe the law warrants.

There is reason however to hope that this extreme penalty may be escaped; since while zealously defending the law in its origin, when it had the penalty of death attached to it, as well as its present retention on the statue book, the reviewer admits "that in most Christian countries throughout the world," and the case seems to be the same even in Massachusetts, the old laws against blasphemy, which means any thing that people do not like, "have been of late years but seldom enforced."

Possibly also the culprit might escape on the ground of what the lawyers call duplicity, involving in this case also inconsistency in the indictment. In the very first sentence of the *North American Review*, Mr. Hildreth's history is slightly disposed of, as merely "a plain and well written narrative of public events, mostly in the order of their occurrence, without any attempt to generalize them, or to deduce from them the broader lessons of experience." And the Review proceeds to inform us that such a "naked record of facts must be untrustworthy; not merely incomplete, but deceptive, giving rise to unfounded impressions, and creating false judgments,"—a pretty good argument, it would seem, against having any histories at all; since infallibility is chiefly confined to churches and reviewers; nor are we aware of any criterion, by which a reader not qualified himself to form a

judgment on the facts laid before him, can be enabled to determine whether the interpretation of them furnished to his hands by the historian, is not quite as unfounded and false as any he might be led to make for himself.

But in the very third paragraph of the Review, the matter appears in quite a different light. Mr. Hildreth is no longer the plain narrator of events, "mostly in the order of their occurrence." He is changed all at once, in this reviewer's squint-eyed vision, into a cold and stealthy disciple of Gibbon, arranging his facts with such consummate art, that "without one false assertion or positive misstatement," the reader is unconsciously drawn along to the wished for conclusions. And so far from not "generalizing," or "deducing the broader lessons of experience," the whole history is represented as written with the express purpose of exposing "the evils of a theocratic form of government, and the folly and hypocrisy of rulers who profess to act upon religious principles." And all this because Mr. Hildreth has written the history of the attempted theocracies of New England,—a species of government extinct, we believe, in Christendom, except in the dominions of the Pope—without stopping to apologize for, and explain, if not indeed to justify, every piece of harsh and cruel bigotry, every act of domineering intolerance, every fierce, brutal, bloody crime, with which those annals, sorry we are to say it, are too piteously blackened. To find any fault with the persecuting spirit and the blood-stained enactments of these Puritan Commonwealths, or rather not to defend and to eulogize them, is, we are told by this worthy representative and advocate of those ancient persecutions, to misrepresent, to distort, to discolor! It is to do so by omitting to take into view the spirit of the age! As though the spirit of the age, however a reference to it may temper our judgments as to individual character, ought ever to make anybody an apologist for cruelty and injustice!

What indeed can be more cruel and unjust, or a greater proof how bigotry and partisanship will extinguish every sense of shame, than the apology put forth by this reviewer for the New England persecutions? With singular boldness he does not hesitate to tell us that they only "banished from the colony the few separatists who would not conform to their high standard, and be as pure, self-denying and devout as themselves!" p. 414. As though it were any want of purity, self-denial, or devotion, that caused the banishments, yea the whippings and hangings complained of! As though there were any

grounds for this malicious and unmanly insinuation, in the character and conduct of the two Brownes, John and Samuel, whom Endicott shipped off in the very first year of the Massachusetts Colony, "as factious and evil conditioned," because they adhered to the book of Common Prayer, and would not conform to his new fangled service! Or in the character of Roger Williams, a very Puritan of the Puritans, obliged to fly in mid winter into the woods, to escape being shipped off to England, because he had told his Puritan brethren that they had no authority to punish men for matters of opinion or worship; or in the character and conduct of Mrs. Hutchinson and her numerous adherents; or of Samuel Gorton and his followers; or of the "godly Lady Moody" and her numerous Baptist associates; or of John Clarke and Obadiah Holmes; or of William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, Mary Dyer, and William Leddra hanged for Quakerism! A rather formidable list though a very small part of the whole, for thirty years of a colony, which did not number at any period of that thirty years seven thousand adult inhabitants. No wonder that with such a list staring him in the face, this teacher of the true art of writing history, should endeavor to inculcate the opinion that a plain statement of facts is very dangerous, and quite sure to mislead!

But it is not thought safe to rest the apology for these Puritan prosecutions on the spirit of the age alone. Considering indeed the rebukes which the Massachusetts Puritans received at the time from such men of their own number as Roger Williams and Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Henry Vane, and the example which they had all the time before their eyes of comparative religious freedom in the colony of Rhode Island, this would not be very safe. Another defence is therefore suggested, original indeed; and as a specimen of the doctrines of natural law and moral right in vogue in Cambridge and that vicinity, worthy of all admiration.

It is an easy matter to understand how the Papal Church, believing itself to be God's vicegerent on earth, and the infallible judge of religious truth, might esteem itself authorized to subject heretics to punishment. Nor is it much to be wondered at that the Church of England might conceive herself endowed with something of the same power transmitted with the ordination of her Bishops from Apostolic times. But how men, whose only pretence or warrant for assuming themselves to be in any way a Church, was a mere internal assurance of their own to that effect, should undertake, on that basis

alone, to domineer over the internal assurance of other men, to all outward appearance as pious and as much internally enlightened as themselves, is not so easy to understand. Such, in fact, was the view taken by the Anabaptists and the Independents in their partial advocacy of religious freedom; and such was the substance of that "noble letter," as Mr. Hildreth justly calls it, addressed by Sir Richard Saltonstall to Cotton and Wilson, the ministers of Boston; their reply to which, with all due deference to the *North American Review*, does certainly amount, as Mr. Hildreth suggests, to nothing more nor less than that very assumption of infallibility which Saltonstall charged upon them and they denied. On what else was it if not precisely on this ground, that they were certainly right and everybody else certainly wrong, that the New England Puritans themselves justified their persecuting laws? They were right; they knew they were. They were God's chosen people and New England was the promised land; and they must imitate all the provisions on the subject of worship, to be found in the Jewish Law. It is very true, as the Reviewer says, that they did not punish opinions merely, but only the expression of opinions—and such, according to his gloss upon it, is the present operation of the Massachusetts law against blasphemy. A palpable distinction certainly, but in practice not worth much;—for what is the practical value of liberty of opinion to a man who is not at liberty to express his opinions?

Were we reduced to the disagreeable alternative of being obliged to defend either the theological creed of the New England Puritans, or the moral beauty and rectitude of their conduct, we should certainly prefer, by all odds, to defend their creed. But it is not so with our North American contemporary. The conduct of the Puritans appears to him very holy and lovely. They do not seem ever to have done a single thing, at least in their public career, which he is not ready to excuse, to defend, to justify, if not indeed to eulogize. But it is not so with their creed. The Puritan creed has gone out of fashion in that New England circle which the *North American Review* represents. Thus incapacitated from justifying the persecuting laws of the New England Puritans, on that basis of the infallible interpretation of scripture, on which they themselves placed it, he has recourse to an ingenious device of his own, to which we have already called attention, as in a remarkable degree striking and original, and coming from the source it does, worthy of special notice.

The old Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts was, so this reviewer informs us, "an association as homogeneous in religious faith as is that of the Mormons in Utah, and whose only purpose in emigrating was like that of the Mormons, to separate themselves by many leagues of a pathless waste from all contact with other religious sects, and to build up for themselves a new Church in the wilderness, where their faith and practice might continue pure, because removed from contaminating influences. *Who will deny that such an intention is an honest and reasonable one? Who doubts that it would be an unjustifiable intrusion for a band of emigrants of a very dissimilar faith, or of no faith at all, to insist upon removing to the same spot, and planting a Church or a Synagogue within a stones' throw of the new Mormon Temple, on the shores of the great Salt Lake?* IN SUCH A CASE, WHO WOULD ACCUSE THE MORMONS OF ANY LACK OF CHARITY, OR OF BREAKING THE PRINCIPLES OF PHILOSOPHIC TOLERATION, IF THEY SHOULD BANISH SUCH INTRUDERS FROM THEIR TERRITORY, AND MENACE THEM WITH IMPRISONMENT AND STRIPES, EVEN WITH DEATH, SHOULD THEY RETURN?"

Now, in the first place, as to the facts,—those horrid facts, arranged "mostly in the order of their occurrence," which our Professor of Philosophical History holds in such contempt and detestation, as so liable "to give rise to unfounded impressions, and to create false judgments." The Massachusetts Company purchased of the council of Plymouth a tract of country on which, as they very well knew, a considerable number of the King's subjects had been settled for years before—most of them under prior grants; and instead of undertaking to establish a government based solely upon their own inherent power, or on the consent of the members of it, like that of New Plymouth, "a private religious association," as this reviewer expresses it, whose affairs might "properly be regulated in a different manner from those of an organized Commonwealth," they obtained a royal charter from Charles I, which they always put forward as the basis, and sole basis, of their rights of legislation and powers of government. Yet one of the very first things which they did on setting up their government, was, to compel the "old planters," as they were called, to conform to all their new fangled and illegal arrangements, or, if "incorrigible," to quit the country. Some were seized and sent to England, without ceremony, as "unfit to inhabit there." Others were driven off by fines, whipping, and cropping of the ears—a fate which even the good natured and hospitable Mavarick, to whose kind-heartedness

Winthrop, as well as Josselyn, bears witness, only escaped by submitting to pay numerous fines imposed on him.

Then, again, as to excluding unwelcome and uninvited intruders. With his usual contempt of facts, this reviewer, presuming we must suppose on the ignorance, credulity, or prejudices of his readers, ventures to say, "The persons thus warned off, or expelled, did not suffer loss or wrong. They were not spoiled of their property, nor driven from the houses and graves of their ancestors." But in fact they were spoiled of their property. It was the custom in Massachusetts, to begin with enormous fines, for the very purpose, as Savage suggests, in his notes on Winthrop, of filling up their empty treasury. Then they proceeded to imprisonment and whipping, and then to banishment, and finally to death. Thus, one Dand was fined £200, which might be considered equivalent to five or ten thousand dollars now, because a copy of a certain obnoxious petition to Parliament for equal rights, had been found in his study; and was kept in prison a whole year, because he could not pay it. Other enormous fines were imposed on the same occasion. John Clarke, a man of education, a physician, one of the early emigrants to Massachusetts, was fined £20, because coming into the Colony from Rhode Island, on a visit to an aged Baptist brother, he had ventured to give a public exhortation at that brother's house; and he was kept in prison, under threat of a whipping, till the fine was paid. Obadiah Holmes, who had accompanied Clarke, and who had been for many years an honored member of the Salem Church, was fined £30, which refusing to pay, or to allow his friends to pay for him, he was brought to the whipping post. "I had such a spiritual manifestation," so writes Holmes, in an account which he has left of this proceeding, "that I could well bear it, yea, and in a manner felt it not, although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength, (yea, spitting in his hand three times, as many affirmed,) with a three corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes. When he had loosed me from the post, having joyfulness in my heart, and cheerfulness in my countenance, as the spectators observed, I told the magistrates, 'You have struck me as with roses,' and said, moreover, 'Although the Lord hath made it easy to me, I pray God it may not be laid to your charge.'" John Hazel and John Spur, who came up and shook hands with the prisoner after his punishment, smiling and saying, 'Blessed be God,' they were arrested on the spot, for contempt of authority, fined forty shillings

and imprisoned.—(See Hildreth, vol. i, p. 381.) Gorton and his seven companions arrested by an armed force, while quietly living beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and at a distance of many miles through pathless forests, from any of her settlements, which they had left for the sake of peace, were brought by force to Boston, and being tried on the vague charge of being “blasphemous enemies of true religion and civil government,” were sentenced to be kept at hard labor in irons in seven different towns, under pain of death, if by speech or writing they attempted to publish any of their “blasphemous and abominable heresies ;”—and their cattle were seized to pay the costs, taxed at £160.—(See Hildreth, vol. i, p. 296.) And yet this reviewer, with this case staring him in the face, and of which he undertakes a special vindication, (p. 421,) has the hardihood to write, (p. 418,) “They did not seek to bind or restrain the consciences of men ; they punished no one for heresy. But they claimed the ownership and jurisdiction of the territory granted to them in their charter, and they exercised *an undoubted right* in excluding from it all those whose presence was distasteful to them. Those who did not agree with them in doctrine, were required to leave this territory, and profess their obnoxious opinions elsewhere. The continent was broad enough ; its long line of sea coast, its interminable reaches of forest, the rich meadows extending along its magnificent streams, afforded space where every proscribed sect, and the people of every lineage, denomination, and tongue might form colonies of their own. Practically this was soon accomplished to a great extent ; the Anti-pædobaptists obtained a home in Rhode Island ; the Roman Catholics in Maryland ; those of the English Church in Virginia ; the Quakers in Pennsylvania. Every sect might find a home *where it would be secure,*” &c.

Very pretty rhetoric, truly ! But then, again, those ugly facts ! Nothing is more certain than that Massachusetts, and the other three Puritan commonwealths in confederation with her, strove by every means to extend their jurisdiction on all sides, and to absorb and subject to their domineering authority all the little neighboring Colonies, formed by religious exiles from their bosom. Thus the three New Hampshire settlements, Dover, Portsmouth, and Exeter, were absorbed, one after the other ; Wheelwright, who, driven from Boston, had founded Exeter, being obliged to fly again to Wells ; and soon perceiving that Wells, too, was to be “annexed,” forced at last, in order to prevent further flight, to submit, recant,

and make his peace. All the numerous independent settlements on the coast of Maine were absorbed, one after another, and the use of the Common Prayer, and celebration of the English Church service, suppressed therein. There were endless intrigues and efforts,—now by stirring up internal dissensions, now by threats of non-intercourse and Indian war, and now by attempts in England to get a recognition of their unfounded claims—to absorb and annex the territories of Providence and Rhode Island ;—to guard against which Williams was obliged to make two voyages to England, and Clarke to reside there for years. The outrageous assumption of jurisdiction over Gorton's settlement at Shawomet, has already been noticed. It was only with the utmost reluctance, after Gorton (that "convicted swindler, hypocrite, and false prophet," as our Puritan apologist, descending in the warmth of argument to foul mouthed slander of the historic dead, politely calls him, and without the slightest pretence for it) had visited England, had there secured the respect and regard of such men as Vane, and though not "a university man," and on that account opposed by the Presbyterians, had yet been duly recognized and had preached in London as "a minister of the Gospel," and had obtained from the Parliamentary Council, or committee for Colonial affairs, letters of safe conduct, and authority to take possession of his territory of Shawomet, (which he gratefully named Warwick, after the President of the Council;) it was only after all this that Massachusetts reluctantly disgorged that usurped possession; not even then leaving the Gortonists in peace, but, as they complained, stimulating the Indians to attack them. Meanwhile, the aggressions on the Dutch of New Netherland, in whose territory many of the New England exiles had taken refuge, were a complete counterpart to, and as it were fore-runner of, more recent encroachments, in our day, upon our weak neighbors of Mexico, as to which, if we recollect right, we have read some diatribes in the *North American Review*, but which, nevertheless, might all be easily sustained by good New England Puritan precedents.

Nor did these untiring propagandists stop here. Upon application from a little nest of Puritans among the settlers in Virginia, they sent thither three missionary ministers. These were presently silenced and sent out of the colony, because they would not use the Book of Common Prayer. Their parishioners being soon after obliged to follow their example, removed to Maryland, where they presently fomented a re-

bellion against the proprietary. Nor did they rest, (being constantly strengthened by new accessions,) till in the course of the next forty years the proprietary was stripped of his authority, because he was a Roman Catholic; the son regaining it only by renouncing his hereditary faith; the unfortunate Roman Catholic settlers being completely disfranchised, and subjected to a severe code of persecuting laws, in the very colony they had planted. Even in Virginia, where the Churchmen were a hundred to one, the Puritan Commissioners, sent out by the Long Parliament, suppressed the Book of Common Prayer, and overturned the whole Church organization.

Then, again, as to the slight hardship of being merely obliged to change one's abode among those delightful "woods and forests, and rich meadows, and river banks," and so forth. Let us see. The Lady Moody, "a wise and anciently religious woman," as Winthrop calls her, settles at Lynn. But having presently adopted Anabaptist opinions, she finds it necessary to remove to Gravesend on Long Island, under the Dutch. Just as she arrives there, an Indian war breaks out, and her settlement is attacked; but a guard of forty men enables her to defend it. The famous Mrs. Hutchinson banished from Boston, but still pursued with rancorous hate, not thinking herself safe at Newport,—which Massachusetts was intriguing not without a prospect of success, by fomenting disputes among the inhabitants, to get under her control,—flies in alarm to Greenwich, now of Connecticut, then the nearest Dutch town. Her house too is attacked by the Indians, and, less fortunate than the Lady Moody, she herself and all her family, to the number of eighteen persons, are massacred, except one young daughter, carried off a prisoner. Over which event the pious Welde exulted at the time as "an apparent exhibition of God's hand" "to pick out this woeful woman, to make her and those belonging to her, an unheard of heavy example," and over whose hard case this no less tender hearted reviewer coolly speculates, as really exhibiting no hardship at all!

There are, however, we freely admit, some analogies between the case of the Mormons and the New England Puritans. These last emigrated to a country which they recognized as belonging to the English crown; they claimed to carry with them the English law; they still admitted their obligation of allegiance. The Mormons, in like manner, have settled in a territory which they admit to belong to the United States, to which they also admit their obligation of allegiance.

And are we to understand the North American Review to maintain that if any number of Churchmen, Baptists, or Methodists, citizens of the United States, shall also take the liberty of planting themselves in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, even should it be "within a stones' throw of the new Mormon temple," the Mormons there will be at liberty to compel these new comers to conform to Mormonism, "under pain of imprisonment, stripes, banishment, even death if they return?" Whether, in taking this course, the Mormons would exhibit any "lack of charity," or would "break the principles of philosophic toleration," opinions may differ. But we can tell this reviewer what they would break, and that is, the law of the land. Any citizen of the United States has just as good a right as the Mormons to settle in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, and freely to enjoy his religious opinions. And every subject of Charles I, had just as good a right as the Massachusetts Puritans to settle within any English dominion and to enjoy there the worship of the Church of England, established by law as the religion of the realm.

In more respects than one this allusion to the Mormons is unfortunate. Mr. Hildreth is taken severely to task because he has not indulged in ovations over the "heroism, conscientiousness, and self-denial" of the Puritans in going into the woods to establish a Church of their own,—a topic, one would suppose, amply enough dwelt upon elsewhere. But is it this in which the glory of the Puritans consists? If so, the Mormons have fairly outdone them, whether in patience of endurance or energy of accomplishment. And some hundred years hence, when the State of the Salt Lake shall be, to borrow the reviewer's description of Massachusetts as it now is, "a populous and flourishing community, numbering among its population believers and unbelievers, the followers of almost every faith that can be found on earth, all of whom live together harmoniously," Mormonism being forgotten or sunk into a small minority, its partisans showing their teeth now and then, but no longer able to bite, shall it then happen that Salt Lake reviewers, themselves renegades from the Mormon Faith, but for all that, professors perhaps, or ex-professors of history, in that University of Utah to whose library, at the solicitation of the Territorial Delegate, we made the other day a contribution of books; shall these future Utah reviewers attempt to make up, as it were, for that lapse, or to put it out of sight, by elevating their Mormon forefathers to the level of the New England Puritans, and accusing all

who shall differ from them in this respect, of irreverence and irreligion?

Wherein is the essential difference between the Puritans and the Mormons—leaving the latter, after all is said and done, and though all wonder at and admire their achievements, mere vulgar fanatics, and elevating the former to the rank of heroes? This is a question most fit to be answered by those more learned than we in Puritan lore, and more in sympathy with the Puritans than we can be supposed to be. Yet should they decline to answer, or fail in the attempt, we perhaps may try. And here we leave the matter, throwing out this single suggestion,—that Saul of Tarsus the Jew, educated at the feet of Gamaliel, eaten up with zeal, and sincerely believing that in persecuting God's servants he was doing God's service, though well worthy in many respects to be admired and even applauded, is yet by no manner of means to be confounded with Paul the Apostle.

Considering that Mr. Hildreth's historical studies and "un-philosophical" regard for facts must have led him to a pretty close examination of the New England Theocracies, and a pretty thorough knowledge of them, it would be a very natural thing, that he might have conceived even an undue prejudice against such systems, thus giving some color to the reviewer's charge of making his history "one uniform record of the pernicious consequences of allowing the state even to recognize the existence of Christianity, or to adopt any measures which look to its observance and support," and of having selected as his favorite topics "the evils of a theocratic government, and the folly and hypocrisy of rulers who profess to act upon religious principles." But our readers must, we think, be satisfied by this time that the statements of this reviewer, however brilliant in philosophy, so far as they involve any mere matter of fact, are to be taken with some grains of allowance. We have not observed that Mr. Hildreth, at least in the first series of his *History*, is apt to charge any body with folly or hypocrisy, though perhaps some instances of both may be developed in the facts which he finds it necessary to relate. We should look in vain through his volumes for any thing approaching to an instance of the gross impropriety—even if the facts afford color for it, which in this case they do not—into which the reviewer himself falls, in denouncing Gorton as "a convicted swindler," in hopes, by raising a prejudice against him, to cover up the gross wrongs of which he was the victim. Mr. Hildreth has occasion to speak of a

great many religious leaders, but we do not recollect that he finds it necessary to discharge his bile or to prove his orthodoxy by denouncing any of them, as this reviewer does Gorton, as "hypocrites and false prophets." This, however, we suppose is what they call at Cambridge the "philosophical" delineation of character, made up not of paltry facts, but of sounding epithets.

It is true that Mr. Hildreth has developed with a good deal of care and labor the whole course of colonial legislation on the subject of religion. And the reason of this we think very obvious. He sets it out in his preface as a leading object with him "to trace our institutions, religious, social, and political, from their embryo state; to show, in fine, from what beginnings, by what influences, and through what changes the United States, are what they are." Now there is no more striking fact in the social polity of America, as it now exhibits itself, than the establishment by law of religious toleration, and not only toleration, but equality, and the professed total separation of Church and State. Yet, at the same time, appear some facts not easily to be reconciled with this theory; the adoption of tests in several of the States, tending to exclude from all offices, Jews, Papists, and Universalists, and a number of laws on the statute books of almost all the States, by which the State does directly interfere with religious worship and observances, and even with religious opinions, or at least the expression of them. How these discrepancies originated, and how the existing religious equality was introduced, especially into such stern old theocracies as Massachusetts, is a very curious inquiry; and on all these subjects the reader will find ample details in Mr. Hildreth's volumes.

James Madison held that the clauses in the Constitution of the United States excluding any legislation respecting "an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," absolutely forbade any legislation on the subject whatever; and on this ground he placed his veto on two acts of Congress, one incorporating an Episcopal Church in the District of Columbia; the other granting a piece of public land to a Baptist Church in Mississippi. Similar, generally stronger, clauses of the same sort are to be found in all the State Constitutions, and to those in the Constitution of Virginia, an interpretation, the same with Madison's, had already been given. We do not understand Mr. Hildreth to go this length. We do not understand him even to oppose a general tax for the support of religion, like the school tax, and to be defended on similar grounds, namely, the interest which the State has in

the moral education of the people; such tax to enure to the benefit of such church or society as the tax payer shall elect. There are some considerations on this subject urged in his fifth volume, pp. 459-62, which it does not seem so easy to answer. But while thus admitting the right of the State to make such laws merely affecting property as the public good shall seem to the legislature to require, it is also perfectly evident that Mr. Hildreth regards as conflicting with the theory and the right of religious liberty, all those numerous enactments, and even in some cases constitutional provisions going to affect the holding or expressing of opinions, or the mode or time of worship. Being apparently one of those resolutely bent on investigating and judging for themselves, he is at least consistent in claiming the same liberty for others.

But he pokes fun occasionally, as the reviewer complains, at the attempts of semi-Socinian ministers to pass themselves off as good Calvinists. He does, no doubt, occasionally indulge in a vein of quiet sarcasm, from which the Church of England among the rest does not escape, but rather good natured, we should call it, than "bitter," as the reviewer seems to think—but he evidently has all the ultra-puritanical horror of a laugh or a joke. The perception of the ridiculous is as much a distinguishing attribute of humanity as reason itself; indeed more so; for there are many half-reasoning animals, but no laughing animal; unless it be the laughing hyena, whose sardonic grin rather reminds us of certain critics, than of any thing to be found in Mr. Hildreth's volumes. A man so starched, so grim, so entirely self-satisfied, that he can neither laugh himself nor allow others to laugh at his foibles and frailties, is in a very bad way; and amid the tragedies with which history abounds, a little comic intermixture, now and then, is, to our view at least, very refreshing.

This article has spun out to a length which we never intended. But seeing Mr. Hildreth beset on the one side by a High Church Tory, who appropriated his goods, as it appeared, without any kind of conscience, and on the other by a sort of Puritan Guy Fawkes, desperately bent upon blowing him up *in toto*, Christian charity did prompt us, without first stopping to inquire whether he belonged to "the Church" or not, to put in our testimony in his behalf, as to what he is in the only character in which he has subjected himself to our judgment; namely, an historian who means to tell the truth; possessing also the intelligence and the industry, and having access to the documents necessary to ascertain it; and gifted at the same time with competent skill in laying his discoveries before the public.

AMERICAN EPISCOPATE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

ART. III.—Rt. Rev. Dr. KENNETTS' *Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, &c.* London: 1706. 4to. pp. 97.

Rev. Dr. DAVID HUMPHREY'S *Historical Account of the Incorporated Society, &c.* London: 1730. 8vo. pp. 366.

HAWKINS' *Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England, in the North American Colonies, &c.* London: 1845. 8vo. pp. 448.

BOUCHER'S *Thirteen Discourses on the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution.* London: 1797. 8vo. pp. 596.

HAWKS' *Ecclesiastical Contributions.* New York: vols. I and II, 1836, 1839. 8vo. pp. 614, 523.

Six Pamphlets on the Aphorism Controversy. By Rev. Dr. MAYHEW, Rev. Dr. CANER, Rev. Dr. JOHNSON, and Rt. Rev. Archbishop SECKER. 1763-4.

Rev. Dr. CHANDLER'S *Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America.* New York: 1767. pp. 127.

Minutes of Convention of Delegates from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and the Associations of Connecticut, from 1766 to 1775. Hartford: 1843. pp. 68.

Massachusetts Historical Collections, First, Second, and Third Series. Boston. Thirty volumes. 8vo.

Colony and Province Laws of Massachusetts Bay, &c. Boston: 1814. 8vo. pp. 830.

TRUMBULL'S *Colonial Records of Connecticut, from 1636-1665.*

LORD MAHON'S *History of England.* New York: 1849. In two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 567, 589.

Rev. Dr. COIT'S *Puritanism: Or a Churchman's Defence against its aspersions, by an Appeal to its own History.* New York: 1845. 12mo. pp. 528.

GREENWOOD'S *History of King's Chapel.* Boston: 1833. 12mo. pp. 215.

CHANDLER'S *Life of Rev. Dr. Johnson.* London: 1824. 8vo. pp. 209.

UPDIKE'S *History of the Narragansett Church.* New York: 1847. 8vo. pp. 533.

HILDRETH'S *History of the United States.* Four volumes. New York.

THE fact which stares us in the face, startling and almost incomprehensible to the Churchman, is, that from the year 1607, when the first successful settlement was made in the Virginia Colony, down to the year 1784, a period of upwards of *one hundred and seventy* years, during all which time these Colonies remained under British rule, not a single Bishop was legally consecrated for the American Continent. And when, at length, that boon was first obtained, it was not the gift of that Church whose "nursing care and protection" our Prayer Book has commemorated; and was only finally conferred by her on children, whose political relations had made them forever aliens, and even then, when jealousy of the Scotch Episcopate was no uninfluential motive. This is the fact which must forever stand on the page of history. To what extent this deprivation was owing to State policy, will appear in the progress of this discussion. The result, however, in this case, was such as to dissuade from a repetition of it in similar circumstances. And while we cannot doubt that the plan of Colonial Bishops recently adopted, is merely a matter of State expediency—the same policy which is ready to sacrifice the chartered rights of the Church in one part of Canada, and guarantee the safety of Popery in another; which legitimates Presbyterianism in Scotland, Episcopacy in Australia, Buddhism and devil-worship in Ceylon, and then sets Papists and Jews to guard the mongrel Establishment—still the Providence of God is evidently overruling it, and blessing the Missions of the Church connected with it, to the most beneficent ends.

During the one hundred and seventy years, of which we have spoken, the project of an American Episcopate never ceased to be agitated, although its friends were as continually foiled in their plans. We propose to glance at the history of these efforts, abortive as they proved. Some of the convictions which have fastened themselves upon us, in pursuing this investigation, we shall record. Some things are only matter of conjecture, and may well be left unsaid. The list

of publications with which we have prefaced our sketch, are a part only of the authorities on which we base our statements.

Although the founders of the Virginia Colony landed at Jamestown, in 1607, and although one of the petitioners for the charter, and one of the first emigrants, was a clergyman of the Church of England, (Rev. Robert Hunt,) and although one of the alleged reasons for granting the charter, was the "propagating of Christian religion," still, for half a century, we find no evidence that the planting the Church in its integrity in Virginia, formed any part of the design of the English Church or Government. The Legislature of the Colony, in 1619, gave to the Church the privileges of an establishment, and the then Bishop of London began to exert himself to procure clergymen for the destitute parishes. And out of this fact, grew up the jurisdiction of that Prelate over the Church in this country, which continued down to the time of the American Revolution. It is noticeable, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show, that to the apathy, or actual opposition to an Episcopate, on the part of Virginia Churchmen, no small part of the responsibility belonged, of defeating subsequent efforts to secure, what earnest Churchmen, in the Colonies, and in England, sought so perseveringly, yet vainly, to obtain. The first effort for an American Bishop, was not in behalf of the Church Colony of Virginia, but the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts. It was under Charles I, and in the year 1638, that, as Hawkins says, (*Missions of Church of England*, p. 376,) "the sagacious mind of Laud had conceived a design for the remedy of an evil, then at its rise, by sending a Bishop to New England; but the scheme was thwarted by the outbreak of troubles in Scotland." It is not improbable that this was part of a plan already partially adopted and which had failed. The "Council of Plymouth," in London, had appointed Capt. Robert Gorges, son of Sir Fernando Gorges, General Governor of the fishermen and planters in New England. In the words of a New England Chronicler, "He accordingly came over hither in 1623, with several families, intending to make a settlement at Wessagusset, now Weymouth, on the bay of Massachusetts, which failed of success. He brought with him William Morell, an Episcopal Clergyman, who had a commission from the Ecclesiastical Court in England, to exercise a kind of superintendency over the Churches which were, or might be, established here. Gorges stayed in the country but a short time, and at his departure

left Morell behind at Plymouth, where he continued about a year, making enquiries and observations respecting the country, but made no use of his commission, or even mentioned it, till just before his departure."—(Mass. His. Coll., 1st Series, vol. 1st, p. 125.) (New England's Memorial, p. 108.)—Why this and other attempts to form a settlement on the part of Gorges, failed, we have no room to show: it involves some curious points in Puritan history. But that Laud had a hand in sending over Morell, is almost certain. He was already of his high career of activity; and it was only a short time after Gorges' return, that he became (1627) one of the King's Privy Council.—(Biographia Britannica, Art. Laud.) This fact, in the history of Laud, is worthy of remembrance. We are no blind admirers of the character of one who has been more cordially hated, and more industriously maligned, than almost any man who has lived on the page of history, and who even now, in the estimation of multitudes, was the very incarnation of evil. Yet, Laud was earnestly and deeply religious; and at a period in the English Church, when the Puritan element was active and spreading, he was raised up in the Providence of God, to arrest its progress, though at the sacrifice of his life. The noble and determined stand which that Prelate took in defence of the Episcopacy, rallied the drooping conservatism of the Church; and it was the great secret of that intense bitterness of passion, which was finally slaked in his heart's blood. Such was the depth and extent of the animosity, that even from the shores of New England, many sallied forth to the struggle which brought both him and his royal master to the fatal block.*

In the troublous times that followed, the project of an American Episcopate, of course was lost sight of. Immediately, however, after the Restoration, 1660, the subject was revived. A proposal to send over a Bishop, says Hawkins, was made "by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and so fully approved by the King, that a patent was actually made out, constituting Dr. Alexander Murray, Bishop of Virginia, with a general charge over the other provinces. But this noble project, which, if carried into effect, would doubtless have exercised a sensible influence on the religious and political institutions of America, was defeated by the accession to power of the "Cabal Ministry."—(Hawkins, p. 376.) Secker states, from an ex-

* For a list of several New England Colonial Officers, who fought under Cromwell, see Haliburton's *Rule and Misrule*, p. 85.

amination of Bishop Gibson's papers, that the failure was owing to the endowment being made payable out of the customs.—(Works, vol. xi, p. 355.) Boucher bears witness to the same general fact. He says, "Under Charles II, a patent was actually made out for supplying a Bishop of Virginia. By some fatality or other, (such as seems forever to have pursued all the good measures of that unfortunate family,) the patent was not signed when the King died."—(Discourses, p. 92.) Hutchinson also corroborates this testimony. He says, "A Bishop with a suffragan," was selected to be sent out. This on the authority of a letter written in 1662.—(Hutch. Mass. 3d Ed. vol. i, p. 207.)

There ought also here to be mentioned, the Missionary Society, incorporated by Charles II; which, although it actually accomplished little, shows that the duty of propagating the Gospel was clearly recognized. Dr. Kennet thus speaks of it: "After the happy restoration of Monarchy and the Church of England, there was a new spirit given to these good designs; and King Charles II, in the 4th year of his reign, 1661, was graciously pleased to incorporate several persons into one Society or Company, for the propagation of the Gospel in New England, and the parts adjacent in America, by an express Charter," &c. The sphere of this Society's labors was New England, and the parts adjacent, and the objects of its charities were the Heathen natives and their children. The first Governor of this Society, was the Hon. Robert Boyle, who, at his death, left an annual salary to be forever appropriated to the preaching of eight sermons a year, by some learned Divine, "for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels." These Lectures are still continued.—(Kennet's Account of the Prop. Society, p. 9.)

The turmoils, political and religious, which attended and followed the accession of James II, (1685,) and which were only quelled by his abdication, and the new elements of discord which agitated the consciences of many Churchmen, now absorbed attention, and the American Episcopate passed, for the time being, out of view. The progress of the Church in the Colonies was necessarily slow. The accessions to their population, as well from the Continent as England, being mostly of an excessively anti-Church character, were not such as to accelerate her growth. Still the Church had an existence; and the watchful eye and warm heart of the Bishop of London, (Bishop Compton,) never for a moment lost sight of her present and prospective importance. The distinguished Prelate,

who held that See, for thirty-eight years, from 1675 to 1713 seems to have been raised up in the providence of God, and to have been spared to set on foot a train of measures for the ultimate and effective planting of the Church in all parts of this country. As early as 1679, says Humphrey, "Bishop Compton made inquiry how the foreign plantations were provided with clergymen, and found, upon search, that there were not above four ministers of the Church of England in that vast tract of North America, and only one or two of them regularly sent over. To remedy this sad defect, the Bishop made proposals to several of those places to supply them with clergymen; and had generally encouragement to do so."—(Humph. His. Prop. Soc., Ch. 1, Sec. 5.) And Bishop Kennet, in his "account of the Society for propagating the Gospel," relates that "when the state of religion began to prosper in our Foreign Plantations, then, for the better order and increase of it, the Lord Bishop of London did constitute and appoint the Rev. Mr. James Blair to be his Commissary in Virginia; and did afterwards send over the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray as his Commissary to Maryland. * * * And to encourage these endeavors, a *private Society* was formed to meet, and consult, and contribute towards the progress of Christianity in Foreign Parts."—(Kennet's Account, &c., p. 14.) The successful labors of these men, and the necessity for a more systematic plan of operations, for the support and direction of American Missions, led to the Incorporation of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1701—the very last year of William and Mary; and the future efforts for an American Episcopate, were made in connection with the efforts of that Society, to which we now turn.

Among the very first letters of the Missionaries to the Parent Society, the want, the absolute necessity of an Episcopate for the American Colonies, was urged upon the attention of the Society, and the authorities of the Church at home. A few extracts from these letters will show their spirit and urgency. The Rev. John Talbot, writing from New York, in 1702, says, "We have great need of a Bishop here, to visit all the Churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, and to bless all." And the next year "he speaks of many falling away into dissent for want of a lawful ministry; while those who were willing and qualified to serve, shrunk from the loss and hazard of a voyage to England, to obtain holy orders." Writing in 1704, he says, "Mr. John Lillingston designs, it

seems, to go for England next year. He seems to be the most fit person that America affords for the office of a Suffragan; and several persons, both of the Laity and Clergy, have wished he were the man; and if my Lord Bishop of London thought fit to authorize him, several of the Clergy, both of this Province and of Maryland, have said they would pay their tenths unto him, as my Lord of London's vicegerent, whereby the Bishop of America might have as honorable provision as some in Europe."—(Hawkins' His., pp. 376-7.)

The Rev. Thoroughgood Moor, in 1704, appeals to the Society in this language: "Excuse me to the Society, if I am in earnest with them for a Suffragan, and that they would have a particular regard to the unanimous request of the Clergy in all parts of America upon their account."—(MSS. Letters in Hawkins, p. 377.) In 1705, a Memorial to the Archbishops and Bishops in England, was agreed upon, and signed by *fourteen* Clergymen assembled at Burlington, New Jersey; praying for the "presence and assistance of a Suffragan Bishop, to ordain such persons as are fit to be called to serve in the sacred ministry of the Church;" and stating that they had been "deprived of the advantages which might have been received of some presbyterian and independent ministers that formerly were, and of others that still are, willing to conform and receive the holy character for want of a Bishop to give it." They add, "the baptized want to be confirmed."—(Appendix to Journal in Hawkins' History, pp. 377-8.)

The motives which the Missionaries urged upon the Society, and upon the authorities of the Church at home, for the gift of the Episcopate, both then, and afterwards, were of the most weighty character. Episcopacy, they regarded as a part of the Christian System; and which they therefore in conscience had a right to demand. The ordinances of the Gospel, the ratification of the Baptismal vow, the regular and orderly admission of the baptized to the Lord's Supper, the Ordination of Deacons and Priests, the exercise of a vigilant and effective discipline, all required the presence of a Christian Bishop. Many persons desiring to enter the ministry were deterred, by the dangers and the expense attending a hazardous journey of 3000 miles. A writer in an English publication, of that day, stated, "Out of 52 or 53, who have come hither for holy orders, 42 only have returned safe. There never was a persecution upon earth that destroyed a fifth part of the Clergy."—(Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 39, p. 262.) Dr. Chandler corroborates this statement.—(Chandler's Ap-

peal, p. 34.) Some of these candidates for Orders, as Wilson and Giles, perished by shipwreck on their journey. Some died from diseases or exposure. Indeed, both Churchmen and their opponents knew that the Church system could not exist in this country, in its integrity, even if it could long exist at all, without the presence of Bishops; and hence the earnestness on both sides.

The Venerable Society, moved by these representations, determined on a Memorial to Queen Anne in 1709, which was as follows: "We cannot but take this opportunity further to represent to your Majesty, with the greatest humility, the earnest and repeated desires, not only of the Missionaries, but of divers other considerable persons that are in communion with our excellent Church, to have a Bishop settled in your American plantations, (which we humbly conceive to be very useful and necessary for establishing the gospel in those parts,) that they may be the better united among themselves, than at present they are, and more able to withstand the designs of their enemies; that there may be Confirmations, which, in their present state, they cannot have the benefit of; and that an easy and speedy care may be taken of all the other affairs of the Church, which is much increased in those parts, and to which, through your Majesty's gracious protection and encouragement, we trust that yet a greater addition will daily be made. We humbly beg leave to add, that we are informed that the French have received several great advantages from their establishing a Bishop at Quebec."—(Appendix to Journal in Hawkins, p. 378.) In the following year, 1710, the Governor of Virginia, Col. Nicholson, declared in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that unless a Bishop be sent, in a short time, the Church of England will rather diminish than increase in North America."—(MS. Letters in Hawkins, p. 379.)

By such appeals, the authorities of the Church of England seem at length to have been thoroughly aroused; and it appears that "at a meeting held Jan. 20, 1711, and attended by the Archbishop of York, (Sharp,) the Bishops of Bristol (Robinson) and St. Davids, (Bisse,) Dr. Atterbury, prolocutor of the lower house of Convocation, and Drs. Smalldridge and Stanhope, to deliberate upon what measures it might be suitable to submit to the consideration of Convocation, Archbishop Sharp, after certain points had been agreed upon, would have 'added another proposal concerning Bishops being provided for the plantations;' but as my Lord Bishop of London, who

had a right to be consulted on the project, was not there, the thing was dropped."—(Life of Archbishop Sharp, vol. i, p. 352, in Hawkins, p. 379.) This appears to have been the last action, ever taken, or contemplated, by Convocation for the relief of the American Churches.

The Society, still feeling more and more deeply the necessity of that for which the Missionaries were incessantly pleading, at length matured a comprehensive plan for providing the Church in the colonies with Episcopal Government, which on the 24th of March, 1713, was presented to her Majesty, who was pleased to return a favorable answer. The great object was now on the point of being obtained, when the unexpected death of the Queen put an end to the arrangement. This plan, as contained in the Memorial which was afterwards (1715) presented to George I, was briefly as follows: It provided that *four Bishops* be sent to America; two to the West Indies, one located at Barbadoes, and the other at Jamaica; and the other two to the continent; one of whom was to be established at Burlington, New Jersey, and the other at Williamsburg, in Virginia; the former to be over a "district extending from the east side of Delaware river to the utmost bounds of your Majesty's dominions eastward, including New Foundland;" and the latter over a "district extending from the west side of Delaware River, to the utmost bounds of your Majesty's dominions westward." It ought to be observed that the Society had previously, in 1710, determined to make Burlington the seat of an Episcopal residence, and had already purchased a house for the Bishop's accommodation.

This application to Queen Anne, on the part of the Society, was greatly enforced by an appeal to the Society, made in the same year, 1713, from the ministers, wardens, and vestry of King's Chapel, Boston, Mass.; signed also by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the Province; and also by a letter to her Majesty of the same date, in which they reiterate their request in the following language: "To complete our felicity, we humbly entreat of your Majesty to provide for our spiritual concerns, and to establish Bishops and Bishoprics within your Majesty's Plantations in America." And they add, "Nothing can more tend to make religion flourish amongst us."—(Greenwood's His. King's Chapel, pp. 168, 9.)

There must be mentioned here, a petition which at about this period was addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England from another quarter. It was dated June 2d, 1718, and was signed by order of the vestries of

Christ Church, Philadelphia, and St. Ann's, Burlington, N. J., as also by the clergy and many of the laity in Maryland; and which therefore may be regarded as expressing the sentiments of Churchmen in those colonies. It speaks of Churches unconsecrated, of baptised persons unconfirmed, of vacancies in the ministry unsupplied, of congregations becoming desolate, the light of the Gospel therein extinguished, the country filling up with fanatical teachers, and of ignorant persons led astray for want of proper religious instruction. Such were the representations urged upon the heads of the Church in the Mother Country. Alas, Queen Anne was dead; who, though a weak-minded, capricious woman, who could dismiss a cabinet-minister because he appeared before her "in a tie-wig instead of a full-bottom," (Mahon's *His. of England*, vol. i, p. 15,) yet, there is no doubt, was prepared to accede to a measure which should meet the just demands and real interests of the Church in the Colonies.

The accession of a new Sovereign gave an entirely different aspect to affairs. The hopes of the Pretender were strong. The heart of the Nation secretly yearned for a legitimate King, instead of "a constitutional abstraction." Many of the Bishops, and a large proportion of the parochial clergy, as well as of land-holders, were known to be active Jacobites. The entire University of Oxford, and a large minority of Cambridge, were in their interests. Bishop Atterbury, whose name was a tower of strength, offered to head the procession in proclaiming James at Charing-Cross, in his lawn sleeves. Stinging libels were thrown broadcast among the people from unknown sources. Stanhope was watching the movements of foreign troops. Bolingbroke—the eloquent, accomplished, unprincipled infidel, whose courtly, polished style became the study and model of such men as Pitt and Burke,—had been Secretary of State, the ruling spirit at the Court of Queen Anne, and had made Christianity too contemptible for a gentleman. Swift—indelicately virtuous and irreverently devout, the very soul of wit and humor, who was neither a Whig or Tory, a Jacobite or a Republican, and yet the boon companion and confidant of each, whose whole character was a strange medley of irreconcilable paradoxes, and whose last days were a providential commentary upon, and a fitting end to, his unenviable life; of whom the Earl of Nottingham said in the House of Lords, "who is hardly suspected of being a Christian, is in a fair way of being a Bishop,"—had been advanced to the Deanery of St. Patrick's, and, but for the

Queen's dislike, would have been Bishop of Hereford.* It was an age of open infidelity or of religious indifference. George the First,—a heavy, awkward, stupid Dutchman,—was already advancing to three-score years, ignorant of the English language as of the English Church, and fonder of low buffoonery and of his ugly mistresses, than of his official duties. In Literature, Pope, Bolingbroke, Swift, Gay, and Prior, had sown the seeds of irreverence or of infidelity in the hearts of the people. Apathy had paralyzed the soul, not only of the Church, but of Dissent. Christianity had almost ceased to be the subject of inquiry. In religion, the conscience and the intellect of England were settling down into that slumber of death, which called forth at length, and was aroused by, the trumpet tones of John Wesley, and the resistless, truthful eloquence of Bishop Butler.

Such were the circumstances in which the Church was now placed. From the Reformation down to the time of the Revolution, the great contest of the Church had been, not abroad, to spread the victory of the Cross in distant lands, but at home, battling for "her altars and her fires" with those two classes of her foes, which still exist in England; who either hate, and hate malignantly, the name Reform, or who hide, under it, a ruthless, exterminating Radicalism. From the House of Hanover, and the elements of power which would gather around it, the Church had not much to hope for. The Puritans knew this and exulted over it. Bancroft well says, "To the children of the Puritans the accession of the House of Hanover was the triumph of Protestantism, and the guaranty of Protestant liberties."—(Bancroft's *United States*, vol. iii, p. 322.) And yet Churchmen, if they anticipated little from George, had cause enough for fear in the Popish Pretender; and on the whole, moderate Churchmen were disposed to settle down quietly. On his accession, an Address was sent over from Churchmen in Massachusetts, which breathed a spirit of sincere loyalty; and the members of the Church in this country generally would have been satisfied with Bishops favorable to the Hanoverian interests.

It was at this period, that an event occurred in the Colonies of great significance. The Rev. John Talbot of New Jersey, long one of the most ardent and laborious of the Society's

* Lord Mahon's *Hist. of England*, vol. i, p. 440. Swift himself says he lost his Bishoprick for having written the "Tale of a Tub."—*Biog. Britannica*, vol. v, p. 3863.

Missionaries, for twenty years the only clergyman in West Jersey, and whose requests for the establishment of the Episcopate in America, had been unceasing, became discouraged at the prospect; and seems to have hit upon a plan, demanded as he thought by the exigences of the times. Despairing of obtaining the Episcopate with the consent of the British Government; the appeals of the Missionaries, of the Society, and of the Church at home, steadily disregarded, he thought of the non-juring Bishops of England; and determined to seek that relief from them, which the Government persisted in withholding. In 1720, he went to England; and returned after an absence of two and a half years, accompanied, or immediately followed, by the Rev. Robert Welton. Dr. Welton was invited to Christ Church, Philadelphia, and Mr. Talbot still made his home at Burlington. Both these gentlemen made journeys into the other colonies; and there is no doubt that both had received Consecration at the hands of the non-juring Bishops. Dr. Hawks says, "there is direct evidence from the letters of some of the missionaries, that they at least administered confirmation, and wore the robes of a Bishop."—(Hawks' Virginia, p. 183.) "Very soon an order came to Sir William Keith, the Governor of Pennsylvania, enclosing his majesty's writ of privy seal, addressed to Welton, and commanding him, upon his allegiance forthwith to return to Great Britain."—(Hawks' Virginia, p. 183.) Mr. Talbot was at the same time discharged from the service of the Venerable Society; and died in 1727. This movement on the part of Mr. Welton and Mr. Talbot, seems to have received little or no countenance from Churchmen generally in this country. The principle of loyalty had not yet been shaken; hopes of obtaining the Episcopate in an orderly manner were still cherished; and, in any event, the secret and unauthorized course of these gentlemen, acting neither in concert with, or at the request of their brethren in the colonies, in so important a matter, was little calculated to conciliate favor, or secure coöperation. Still the error of Mr. Talbot was of the head, rather than of the heart. As Bishop Doane says, "he had not learned to wait." We have taken some pains to trace the Episcopal labors of these men, but without success.

This movement on the part of Mr. Talbot, served to increase the ardor of colonial Churchmen for an Episcopate, and stimulated to fresh exertions. In 1725, six of the Clergy of New England, including Dr. Caner and Dr. Johnson, sent

a fresh memorial to the Society ; and in addition to the religious wants of their congregations, began to complain of "the annoyance and opposition to which those who, for conscience' sake, united themselves to the Church, especially by imprisonment for non-payment of taxes towards the support of dissenting teachers."—(Hawkin's Hist. p. 387.) Several of the Clergy of Maryland, too, fearing that a schism might be introduced by the Non-jurors, made their appeal with unprecedented earnestness. The Rev. Mr. Henderson wrote to the Society offering his houses, lands, &c., at a price much below their value, for the support of a Bishop ; and the Clergy of the colony made a strong appeal to the Bishop of London, (1726.) The Bishop upon this wrote to the Rev. Mr. Colebatch, a missionary of that colony, inviting him to England to receive consecration, and then return to Maryland as his Suffragan. Here, however, fresh difficulties arose. The Clergy of Maryland were becoming involved in a quarrel with the Colonial civil government. The character of the Clergy had alienated the feelings of the laity. "It was too much the fashion," says Dr. Hawks, "to send over to all these colonies the refuse of the English clergy. The clergy themselves owned a sort of double allegiance to the proprietor, Lord Baltimore, and to the Bishop, of which the limits were not very clearly defined. And the Governor (Benedict Leonard Calvert) sided with the people against the clergy. When, therefore, the Bishop of London's letter arrived, for the Rev. Mr. Colebatch to proceed to England for consecration, a writ of *ne exeat* was sued out, and the courts of the province prohibited his departure."—(Hawks' His., vol. ii, p. 196.)

We have now arrived at the period in the history of the efforts for the Episcopate, when new elements begin to be mingled in the struggle. We allude, of course, to the means used in this country, by the Puritans and other sectarians, to hinder the planting, and prevent the growth of the Church in the colonies ; and especially to defeat the attempts to obtain the Episcopate. We cannot however well describe these efforts of the Puritans, without first showing the *animus*, the *spirit* by which they were actuated. And here we are obliged to encounter the stereotyped eulogium upon Puritanism, echoed alike by Bancroft and Emerson, in huge octavos and in school-books, in Lyceums and Newspapers, in our Halls of Congress and at Plymouth-Rock dinners, that the Puritans fled "to this howling wilderness to establish freedom of conscience to worship God." And again we say, that, taking this

language in its ordinary acceptation, it is a gross, unmitigated falsehood; and every man who knows any thing upon the subject, knows it to be such. Political demagoguism and sectarian bigotry may, and doubtless will, chime together in ringing changes upon this thread-bare theme; and so long as the Church is covertly wounded by this stupid or malevolent mendacity, so long are Churchmen forced to the unwelcome task of contradicting it. What we complain of is, that some who call themselves Churchmen, had rather wear upon their craven breasts the silly slander of the Church of their fathers, than have it contradicted.

We shall quote briefly from the Colonial Laws of the Puritans, that they may speak for themselves. And we shall then be better prepared to resume the thread of our narrative. We cite first the Colonial Laws of Connecticut:

"This Court orders that henceforth no persons in this Jurisdiction shall in any way embody themselves into Church estate, without consent of the General Court and approbation of the neighboring Churches." 1657.—(Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut. 1636-1665. p. 311.)

"This Court orders that there shall be no ministry or Church administration by the inhabitants of any plantation in this Colony, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to, that which is openly and publicly observed, and dispensed by the settled and approved minister of the place, except it be by approbation of the General Court and neighboring Churches."—1657. (Ib. p. 311.)

For behaving contemptuously "towards the word preached or the messengers thereof"—it was ordered—"And if a second time they break forth into the like contemptuous carriages, they shall either pay five pounds to the public treasure, or stand two hours openly upon a block or stool, four foot high, upon a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast, written with capital letters, AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GOD'S HOLY ORDINANCES."—1650. (Ib. p. 524.)

"It is ordered and decreed by this Court, and authority thereof, that whosoever the ministry of the word is established, according to the order of the Gospel throughout this jurisdiction, every person shall duly resort and attend thereunto respectively upon the Lord's day, and upon such public fast days, and days of Thanksgiving, as are to be generally kept by the appointment of authority. And if any person within this jurisdiction, shall, without just and necessary cause, withdraw himself from hearing the public ministry of the word, after due means of conviction used, he shall forfeit for his absence from every such public meeting, five shillings."—(Ib. p. 524.)

For the support of this Puritan establishment, it was ordered as follows,— "And do order that those who are taught in the word, in the several plantations be called together, that every man voluntarily set down what he is willing to allow to that end and use: And if any man refuse to pay a meet proportion, that then he be rated by authority in some just and equal way; and if, after this, any man withhold or delay due payment, the civil power to be exercised as in other just debts."—(Ib. p. 545.)

In respect to *Heretics*, the General Court of 1656 ordered that every town should pay a penalty of £5 per week for entertaining them, and the Magistrates were to have power to send them to prison until they could be sent out of the juris-

diction. In the following year, 1657, this law was made more stringent against "loathsome heretics, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or some others like them." Every person who unnecessarily spoke with them "more or less" was fined five pounds. And every suspected person was to be examined by the Magistrate or Assistant, or Constable assisted by the Elder or Elders, and if found to be heretics they were to "forthwith send them to prison or out of this jurisdiction."—(Ib. p. 303.)

Here surely was not only a religious establishment, but the prohibition besides, by pains and penalties, of every system of religion "separate from," or "in opposition to," it. And that these laws were not a dead letter, Churchmen in Connecticut realized full well. Thus in 1709, more than fifty years after the enacting of this Law, attempts were made to crush the little parish which was growing up at Stratford. On the 12th of December, the Puritan authorities of that town seized Timothy Titharton, a Warden of the Church, and John Marey, a Vestryman, at about midnight, and hurried them off, the distance of eight miles, to the common jail, where they were kept closely confined, without fire or lights, until they at last, after three days of suffering, paid such sums as the jailor demanded. Other Churchmen of that town, were treated with still more barbarous cruelty. Nor were these solitary instances of persecution in Connecticut. In the following year, an earnest appeal for relief was made to the General Court at Hartford, *but to no avail*.—(MSS. Ven. Soc. in Ch. Record, vol. i, pp. 329–30.) It may be said that these laws were subsequently modified; and so they were at the last; but not until they had disgraced the pages of the Statute book, from half a century to a century; and not until the representations of Churchmen and others in England, had put in peril the Charter which the Puritans were perverting. It was not until 1818, that they were finally and fully repealed; nor even then with a good grace.

The Laws of the Massachusetts-Bay Colony were more severely intolerant than those of Connecticut. The laws against opposers of "the word preached and the messengers thereof," and the penalty to be inflicted, and also the law enforcing support of the Puritan ministry, were precisely like those already quoted from the Colonial laws of Connecticut.—(Col. Laws, Ch. xxxix, Sec. 14, 16.) But the establishment itself was more thoroughly exclusive, and guarded by more stringent enactments. Of this, the following are sufficient proof:

"It is ordered that henceforth no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the Churches within the limits of this Commonwealth." May 1631.—(Mass. Bay Col. Laws, Ch. xlix, Sec. i.)

"It is therefore ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing labor, feasting, or any other way, upon any such account as aforesaid, every such person so offending, shall pay for every such offence, five shillings, as a fine to the County."—(Ib. Ch. l, Sect. 2d.)

"This Court doth order and enact that every person or persons of the *cursed* sect of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended (without warrant, where no Magistrate is at hand,) by any Constable, Commissioner, or Selectman, and conveyed from Constable to Constable, until they come before the next Magistrate, who shall commit the said person or persons to close prison, there to remain without bail until the next Court of Assistants; where they shall have a legal trial by a special jury, and being convicted to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death."

"Every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, * * * and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions and practices, shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death."—1658. (Ib. Ch. li, Sec. 9.)

The method of executing the banishment was as follows:

The Quaker was to be "directed to the Constable of the town wherein he, or she, is taken, or in absence of the Constable to any other meet person, be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and tied to a cart's tail, and whipped through the town, and from thence immediately conveyed to the Constable of the next town towards the borders of our jurisdiction, as their warrant shall direct; and so from Constable to Constable, till they be conveyed through any the outward-most towns of our jurisdiction."—1661. (Col. Laws, Ch. li, Sec. 10.)

We may add, that this law was soon after made much more intolerable. "Any Quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose one ear, and the second time the other; a woman, each time to be severely whipped; and the third time, *man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron.*"—(Haliburton's Rule and Misrule, p. 102.)

Hildreth also gives an account of "the young husband of one of them, following the cart to which his wife was tied, and from time to time interposing his hat between her naked and bleeding back and the lash of the executioner!"*—(Hildreth's United States, vol. i, p. 473.)

"And if after this, *he or she*, shall return again, then to be proceeded against as incorrigible rogues and enemies to the common peace, and shall immediately be apprehended and committed to the common gaol of the country, and at the next Court of Assistants, shall be brought to their trial, and proceeded against according to the law made Anno. 1658, for their punishment on pain of death."—(Col. Laws, Ch. li, Sec. 2.)

* Gough has preserved an actual warrant directing three *women* to be whipped through eleven towns, which would have been a distance of eighty miles.—(Gough, vol. ii, pp. 36, 37.)

"It is therefore ordered and decreed by this Court, that if any Christian within this jurisdiction shall go about to subvert and destroy the Christian faith and religion, by broaching and maintaining any damnable heresy, as denying * * * that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins, * * * every such person continuing obstinate therein, after due means of conviction, shall pay to the common treasurer, during the first six months, twenty shillings a month, and for the next six months, forty shillings per month, and so to continue during his obstinacy."—(*Ib.* Ch. li, Sec. 13.)

"It is ordered and enacted by authority of this Court, that no Jesuit, or spiritual, or ecclesiastical person, (as they are termed,) ordained by the authority of the Pope, or see of Rome shall henceforth at any time repair to, or come within this jurisdiction; and if any person shall give just cause of suspicion, that he is one of such Society or order, he shall be brought before some of the Magistrates, and if he cannot free himself of such suspicion, he shall be committed to prison, or bound over to the next Court of Assistants, to be tried and proceeded with, by banishment or otherwise, as the Court shall see cause.

And if any person so banished, be taken the second time within this jurisdiction, upon lawful trial and conviction, he shall be put to death."—(*Ib.* Ch. liv.)

Such were the laws of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, against Romanists, Quakers, Socinians and Churchmen. Such was Puritan "*freedom of conscience.*" As the historian says, "*Toleration was preached against as a sin in rulers, which would bring down the judgments of Heaven upon the land.*"—(*Hutchinson*, vol. i, p. 75.) And when they had six Quakers in prison, and were deliberating on their fate, Rev. Mr. Chauncey, in a sermon said, "Suppose ye should catch six wolves in a trap, and ye cannot prove that they killed either sheep or lambs; and now you have them they will neither bark or bite, yet they have the plain mark of wolves. Now I leave it to your consideration, whether you will let them go alive; yea or nay."—(*Gough's His.* i, p. 365.—*Coit's "Puritanism,"* p. 311.) On the 27th October, 1659, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson were publicly hung at Boston, and their naked bodies cast ignominiously into a hole in the earth. The aged Mary Dyer suffered the same fate. William Leddra, whose last words of meekness to his brethren, should have caused his murderers to blush for shame, was added to the number of witnesses to "*freedom of conscience*" in Puritan Massachusetts.*

What renders their conduct towards the Church still more

* The reader will find a mass of facts well substantiated in Dr. Coit's Puritanism; a work which has been sneered at, but never answered; and for the best of reasons. See also Haliburton's Rule and Misrule. Hildreth's Colonial History. Neal's History of New England, vol. i, p. 311. Hutchinson, vol. i, p. 197. Hazard, vol. i, pp. 630-32. Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 451-58. Also the Quaker accounts by Besse, Gould, and Sewell. For an account of the banishment of Roger Williams, see Callender's Historical Discourse, edited by Rev. Romeo Elton, D. D. Boston, 1843.

noticeable, is the fact that they had obtained the Charter of 1628, under which they were living, only under the pretense that they were sincere and devoted members of the Church of England; a Church which, in setting sail for America, they said, among other strong protestations of affection and attachment, they could not leave "without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes," "who esteem it an honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear Mother," and "blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, and shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her," &c., &c.—(See Governor Winthrop and others' Letter from the "Arabella," in Mass. His. Col., 2d Ser., vol. v, pp. 126-7.) This was the "*Episcopal persecution*" from which the Puritans fled! as described, not by their descendants, but by themselves. Of course the King was completely blinded by this duplicity, (for duplicity it certainly was,) as to their real intentions. And yet so effectually did they exclude Churchmen from the Colony, that in 1686, there was but one in the Government. And when, under Governor Andross, a Church Clergyman first attempted to read the Burial Service over a grave, Haliburton says, "a crowd of persons, led on by an infuriated Deacon, drove him from the grave, and loaded him with insult and abuse, calling him, 'Baal's priest,' and his prayers, 'leeks, garlicks, and popish trash.'"—(Rule and Misrule, p. 144.)

We have cited these laws from the early Statute Books of the Colonies, and these facts, that our readers may have the evidence before them of what the Puritans meant by "*freedom of conscience*," and that they may better appreciate the struggle which the Church was now obliged to meet.

The Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was, meanwhile, entering in earnest upon its work. Its Missionaries were found at almost every important point on the Atlantic coast. "In 1725," says the Secretary, Mr. Hawkins, in his late Address at the Jubilee meeting, "they had increased to 36; in 1750 to 70; and the largest number ever maintained by the Society in the old North American Colonies, was 101." An open war of extermination was too bold a step, for the Church was the established religion of the Mother Country. What could not be accomplished directly, might be reached in some other way. In the year 1723, Mr. John Checkley reprinted "Leslie's Short and Easy Method with the Deists," to which he appended a discourse concern-

ing Episcopacy. For this he was arrested as a *libeller*, and disturber of the public peace. The Jury acquitted him of the other charges, but brought in a hypothetical verdict of guilty on the charge of libel, that is, "if the book on Episcopacy be a false and scandalous libel." The Court immediately decided that it was a libel; sentenced him to pay a fine of fifty pounds; and bound him over in recognizances for six months.* All this for publishing a little tract on Episcopacy! It was during this year that the learned and accomplished President of Yale College, Dr. Cutler, and Tutor Daniel Brown, with two neighboring Ministers, declared for Episcopacy. Such an event, says President Woolsey, "filled the minds of men with apprehension and gloom—feelings which extended into the neighboring Colony."—(Historical Discourse, 1850.)

In that "neighboring Colony," in the winter of 1724, we find *Cotton Mather* memorializing the Legislature to call a much larger Convention than usual, to ascertain "what may be the most evangelical and effectual expedient to put a stop unto these, or the like miscarriages."—(Hutchinson's Mass., vol. ii, p. 292.) This calling of a Provincial Synod, was just one of those things which was by law prohibited, and the Puritans knew it. It was one of the *jura regalia*, or special prerogatives of the Sovereign. And as the rumor of the plan soon reached England, the scheme was at once rebuked and abandoned. The Memorial, though offered in open Legislature, was yet kept a profound secret, especially from Churchmen; who became only the more anxious to get a look at it.

When it was at length obtained for *Mr. Checkley*, by a member of the Legislature, from the Secretary, that member was expelled, and the Secretary turned out of office.—(Coit's Puritanism, Note 103, p. 503.) In 1727, Mr. Checkley went to England to obtain Orders. Here however a new trouble awaited him. The Rev. John Barnard, Congregational Minister of Marblehead, Mass., as he says in his Autobiography, determined to thwart Checkley's plans. He wrote to Bishop Gibson, secretly accusing Mr. Checkley of being not only an ignoramus, and intolerant, but a Non-juror to the British Government. Mr. Barnard carried his point, and he adds, exultingly, "Thus our town, and the Churches of this Province, *through the favor of God!* got rid of a turbulent, vexa-

* For an account of Checkley, see Updike's "History of Narragansett Church," pp. 205-11.

tious and persecuting-spirited Non-juror."—(Mass. His. Coll. 3d Ser., vol. v, p. 229.) Mr. Checkley was, however, at the age of *fifty-nine years*, ordained in 1739, by the Bishop of Exeter, (Weston,) and fulfilled a laborious and useful ministry of fourteen years at Providence, R. I.

Meanwhile, applications were still kept up in behalf of Bishops for the Colonies. In 1729, the Rev. Dr. Cutler, of Boston, writing to the Society, says, "Might we but welcome a resident Bishop, (as we apprehend multitudes, many more than are generally known, are ready to do,) the Church might be a retreat from these miseries and disorders, and effectually invite all but the incurable."—(Hawkins' Missions, p. 186.) Nor were the heads of the Church at home indifferent to these appeals. Bishop Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, in his Sermon before the Society in 1741, urged the matter from various weighty considerations. Bishop Sherlock, writing to Rev. Dr. Johnson, in 1749, says, "I have been soliciting the establishment of one or two Bishops, to reside in proper parts of the plantations, and to have the conduct and direction of the whole. I am sensible for myself, that I am capable of doing but little service to those distant Churches; and I am persuaded that no Bishop residing in England ought to have, or willingly to undertake the province. As soon as I came to the See of London, I presented a memorial to the king on the subject, which he referred to the principal officers of State, to be considered."—(Chandler's Life of Johnson, p. 165.)

In the following year, 1750, the object so long sought seemed likely to be gained. The Church Clergy in New England, understanding well the difficulties which had been thrown in the way of an Episcopate for this country, agreed upon, and sent to England "Proposals relating to American Bishops," carefully matured. In this document, they noticed every real objection which had been urged, and specified the objects sought to be attained. This letter was signed by the Rev. Messrs. Timothy Cutler, D. D., Ebenezer Miller, Henry Caner, D. D., Charles Brockwell, and William Hooper.—(Chandler's Life of Johnson, p. 160.) This appeal gained the attention of Bishop Butler.

Whatever may have been the character of Queen Caroline, she had this merit, that she knew how to appreciate talent and learning, and through her influence Bishop Butler was raised to a position where, in a century of slothfulness and indifference, he, with Bishop Berkeley, stood forth as almost

the only bright exceptions.* Bishop Butler drew up a plan, embodying the proposals of the memorialists, and so carefully guarded as to disarm all reasonable hostility. Alas! the hostility of that day to the Church was not reasonable. Bolingbroke, too, was still alive. The young Pretender was lurking secretly in England; and it is not strange, that between indifference and hostility, the effort of Bishop Butler proved abortive.

Secker, writing to the Rev. Dr. Johnson, in 1754, says, "We have done all we can here, in vain; and must wait for more favorable times. * * * So long as they (the Dissenters) are uneasy, and remonstrate, regard will be paid to them, and their friends here by our ministers of State."—(Hawkins' *Missions*, pp. 390-2.) Here we have disclosed one secret spring in the workings of an opposition which proved so successful. An incessant attack upon Colonial Church Missions was kept up in England by the enemies of the Church in this country. Sometimes the number of Church people was represented as insignificant. Sometimes they were magnified into a source of faction and disturbance in the Colonies. Sometimes the Missionaries were represented as Jacobites, enemies to the reigning House of Hanover. Sometimes hints were thrown out, more or less obscurely, of a more ominous character, should the Government at home accede to the request of Colonial Churchmen. The stormy conflict, which, even then, was gathering in the political horizon, and which soon broke forth in all the horrors of that bloody war, made the Government cautious of arousing a new source of discontent in the American Colonies.

But that war was now at an end. By the "Peace of Paris," 1763, tranquillity was once more restored to England. George III, unlike his two predecessors of that name, had some religious sensibility, and was at least decently moral. George II, had even said of him, "the boy is good for nothing but to read the Bible to his mother."—"Georgian Era," vol. i, p. 66.) The wants of the Church in the Colonies were still urged unceasingly by the Venerable Society and its missionaries, and a still more vigorous opposition to the American Episcopate now began to show itself. At this period, com-

* In respect to the character of Queen Caroline, see "Lord Chesterfield's Letters," vol. ii, pp. 434-8; and Lord Mahon's *History of England*. Chesterfield says, "After puzzling herself in all the whimsies and fantastical speculations of different sects, she fixed herself ultimately in Deism, believing a future state."

menced what is known as the "APTHORP CONTROVERSY," which was kept up for nearly three years. The Rev. East Apthorp, Missionary at Cambridge, Mass., had published a small and modest pamphlet, containing some "Considerations respecting the Society for Propagating the Gospel," &c., in which he vindicated the conduct of the Society in establishing missions in New England. This was the signal for an attack upon that Society, waged with not less ability than determination. The Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Congregational minister at Boston, opened the controversy, in a volume of 176 pages; in which he aimed to show that the Society "have, in some respects, counteracted and defeated the truly noble ends of their institution." He labored to show that "the planting Episcopal Churches * * in New England" was a misapplication of the funds of the Society. Dr. Mayhew expended his whole strength at first against the planting of the Church in New England. The Puritans had already taken good care to occupy the whole ground. To be a freeman a man must be a Church-member. Every man must support and attend upon their ministrations. No new Church organization could be formed without the consent of their ministers. Roger Williams, the Baptist, was banished. The Quakers were hung, at least enough of them to teach them their true position. The Romanists could not touch their shores without incurring the penalty of death. And now, the great object seemed to be, to exclude the humble missionaries of the Church, whom, in leaving England they declared to be their "DEAR MOTHER," and acknowledged "that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breast."—(Hubbard's New England, pp. 126, 127.) This pamphlet of Dr. Mayhew was immediately reprinted and circulated in England, for which country it was evidently more particularly designed. It was meant as a tool to be put in the hands of dissenters there; and also as an instrument with which to operate on a vacillating and time-serving government. For such purposes it was admirably calculated.

To this attack on the Society, the Rev. Henry Caner, D. D., their Missionary at King's Chapel, Boston, replied in a pamphlet of 80 pages; to which the Rev. Dr. Johnson added a brief appendix.—(Chandler's Life of Johnson, p. 111.) Dr. Caner, who also had the reputation of a popular preacher, showed himself fully equal to the defence of the Society. He proved, that the Society perfectly well understood the import

of their own Charter, and the religious wants of the colonies ; and followed up the charge by maintaining that so far from the missions interfering with the "*established*" religion of the Puritans, that in fact "the Church of England is, and all along has been established here." This was carrying the war into the enemies' camp. The Rev. Dr. Johnson, though prevented by a physical infirmity from leading on the van, yet never drew his bow at a venture. He bore testimony to the just claims of Churchmen, in New England and elsewhere, on the charities of the Society ; and contended that Churchmen in the Colonies had a right, in conscience, to the Episcopate, as necessary to the full enjoyment of their religion.

To these productions of Dr. Caner and Dr. Johnson, Dr. Mayhew immediately replied in an elaborate pamphlet of 144 pages. He showed himself in this contest a bold, if not a gallant knight, and wielded a keenly pointed weapon. Difficult as was his task, of defending the Puritan policy, and of opposing the Missions of the Society, he said all that could be said in behalf of such a cause.

At this same time, an answer to Dr. Mayhew's attack upon the Society, appeared in England ; which, though anonymous, is known to have proceeded from the pen of Archbishop Secker. This learned dignitary had taken a warm interest in the affairs of the Society, was familiar with its operations, and was able to vindicate it from the aspersions of its antagonist ; which he did in a most satisfactory manner. He seems to have thoroughly understood the character of the opposition to the Society's missions ; and like an accomplished Surgeon knew how to probe the wound effectually, yet in a very gentlemanlike way. The necessity and right of an Episcopate for the Colonies, he boldly asserted and clearly vindicated. He stated moreover, and he spoke authoritatively, that the plan of an American Episcopate was not designed to interfere, in the slightest degree, with the civil or religious privileges of any portion of the Colonists, and even declares that during "the fifty years that sending Bishops to America hath been in agitation, I believe no single person, there or here, hath once named or thought of New England as a proper place for the residence of one."—(Archbishop Secker's Answer, &c. pp. 56–57.)

This able argument of Archbishop Secker, brought out Dr. Mayhew again, in a *third* pamphlet of 86 pages ; in which he acknowledges that the scheme proposed for American Bishops is "more plausible" and "less exceptionable." Still he sees in it only a trick "to serve a present turn, or to lull us into

security as to Bishops here, till, by the *real*, and much more *fatal* scheme's, being carried into execution, it is too late to remonstrate."—(Mayhew's Second Defence, &c. p. 60.) *Obsta principiis*, was the Puritan motto in respect to an American Episcopate, and in this, at least, they acted consistently.

To this pamphlet of Dr. Mayhew, the Rev. Mr. Aphthorp, whose little *brochure* was the occasion of such a protracted and violent tempest, replied in a "Review of Dr. Mayhew's Remarks," &c., and his temperate and able production ended this controversy.

The subject which had been so thoroughly discussed in New England, aroused attention in other parts of the country. Churchmen in New York and New Jersey saw the necessity that the subject of an Episcopate for the Colonies should be clearly understood. Dissatisfaction with the mother country was already increasing. Pains were industriously taken to identify British intolerance with the scheme of American Episcopacy. A newspaper had been established in New York, the "*American Whig*," which was conducted altogether by "Dissenters," and especially by Mr. Livingston, (afterwards Governor,) and which was "*aimed at first chiefly against Episcopacy*."—"Boucher's Discourses," p. xxv.) Under these circumstances, the Clergy of New York and New Jersey, being assembled, with others of the Clergy from the neighboring Provinces, determined after a free consultation to address the public on this subject. The Rev. Thomas B. Chandler, D. D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was appointed to this task. The title of the work which, in 1767, and in pursuance of this appointment he sent forth, was as follows; and it is the best description which can be given of the work itself: "*AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC in behalf of the Church of England in America: Wherein the Original and Nature of the Episcopal Office are briefly considered, Reasons for sending Bishops to America are assigned, the Plan on which it is proposed to send them is stated, and the Objections against sending them are obviated and confuted*." This able and manly work of Dr. Chandler, forms an important item in the history of the Church in this country. It was replied to, in 1768, by the Rev. Charles Chauncey, D. D., of Boston, who was much more successful as the advocate of Universalism, than as the antagonist of Episcopacy. In the following year, Dr. Chandler replied to this and other attacks upon his Appeal, and had the honor of standing forth, the champion of the Church, at the very eve of the crisis which closed our colonial history.

The project of an American Episcopate was obliged to encounter a still more formidable opposition in another quarter. It is a scrap of history, which, until lately has been buried in concealment; and which even now is not generally known. We speak from published and authentic documents, and our statements, if not strictly true, can easily be disproved.

The Clergy of New York and New Jersey had entered into a voluntary union, known as the "United Convention of New York and New Jersey," (of which Bishop Seabury was Secretary,) and in 1767, had appointed the Rev. Dr. Cooper, then President of King's (Columbia) College, and the Rev. Mr. M'Kean, Missionary at Amboy, New Jersey, to visit the Southern Colonies to secure the coöperation of their brethren there in procuring an American Episcopate.—(Hawks' Virginia, p. 126.) This movement, and the consequences which were likely to grow out of it, unless counteracted, aroused the attention of the opposers of the Church. Accordingly, at a General Association of the Congregational Ministers of Connecticut, in 1766, a minute was read from the Presbyterian Synod Book of New York and Philadelphia, proposing a meeting of Commissioners from these two bodies, for some special object, which is hinted at in general terms as follows: "to promote and defend the common cause of religion against the attacks of its various enemies;" * * "a general agreement in any measures that may be adapted to preserve our religious liberties against all encroachments."—"Minutes of the Convention of Delegates, from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and from the Associations of Connecticut; held annually from 1766 to 1775 inclusive," p. 6.) What these "attacks," and "encroachments" upon "the common cause of religion," were, will appear in the sequel. The Connecticut Association seem to have understood the matter, and at once acceded to the proposal, and appointed their delegates. The first meeting of the Convention was held at Elizabethtown, N. J., in Nov. 1766; and was attended by nine clergymen from Connecticut, and *twenty-two* from New York and Philadelphia. A glance at the published list of names, shows that no ordinary purpose summoned that body of men together. A "Plan of Union" was formed, and "Articles" were adopted. The "design" of this Convention was declared to be, (in part,) "defending the religious liberties of our Churches, to diffuse union and harmony, and to keep up a correspondence throughout this united body, *and with our friends abroad.*" (*Ib.* p. 10.) At the same meeting, a letter was formally adopted,

to be sent "to the Brethren of the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island governments and the Dutch Churches."—(*Ib.* p. 11.) In this letter they say, "*We greatly desire that the union should extend through all the Colonies.*" Of course, these "Minutes" are brief, and contain what was *done*, not what was *said*. But with the published Minutes, is a letter addressed by the Rev. Francis Alison, D.D., of Philadelphia, to the Rev. James Sproat, of Connecticut, which lets us into the whole secret; and explains the subsequent action of the Convention. The letter, *which was written partly in short hand*, opens thus: "You desired me to let you know why we are persuaded in this city, *that there is a determination, or a fixed resolution to send Bishops to America.*" He then gives as his authorities, a letter which he had before him written by Dr. Chandler; the known determination of Archbishop Secker; the petitions from the New York and New Jersey Clergy; and the plan which he had seen of Bishop Butler to send Bishops, &c.—(*Ib.* p. 15.)

The next meeting of the Convention was held in Sept. 1767, at New Haven, Ct.; at which there were present, *fifteen* from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and *eighteen* from Connecticut. The Massachusetts Clergy replied to this Convention, declining to join the Union, but approving its objects. They also transmitted the following vote of that body. "That the aforesaid Committee be desired in the name of the Convention *to write to the Committee of Deputation of Dissenters in England*, to thank them for the concern they have expressed for our religious liberties; and to desire that they would give us their assistance, and use their influence for the preservation of the same, *and in particular that a Bishop may not be sent among us.*" At this meeting, Committees of Correspondence were appointed, and especially "to carry on an epistolary correspondence with our friends in Great Britain, particularly with Dennis Herbert, Esq., and Mr. Samuel Smith, merchant, in London."—(*Ib.* pp. 18, 19.)

At the meeting in the following year, 1768, at Elizabethtown, N. J., a draught of a Letter to the Dissenting Committee in England, was read, corrected, approved, and ordered to be sent. Similar Letters were sent in the years 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773, copies of which are published in these "Minutes." The following extracts from these Letters are quite intelligible.

"It is very evident that it is not that harmless and inoffensive Bishop which is designed for us, or the missionaries among us request; and therefore we cannot but

be apprehensive of danger from the proposed Episcopate, however plausible the scheme may be represented. * * * *Nothing seems to have such a direct tendency to weaken the dependence of the Colonies upon Great Britain, and to separate them from her.* * * The Episcopal Provinces of Maryland and Virginia, do not appear to desire Bishops among them; it is only the request of a few discontented missionaries in the Middle Colonies."—(*Ib.* p. 23.)

"We are still greatly alarmed. The whole Bench of Bishops, and many bigots with you are constantly teased by our missionaries to procure an American Episcopate. * * No act of Parliament can secure us from the tyranny of their jurisdiction, as an act of Parliament may, and no doubt will be repealed at the importunate solicitations of the Bishops and others. * * It seems highly probable that it will in time break that strong connection which now happily subsists between Great Britain and her Colonies, who are never likely to shake off their dependence on the mother country until they have Bishops established among them."—(*Ib.* p. 34.)

"If the intelligence we propose to send you should be communicated to the public through the channel of some of your newspapers or magazines, which circulate farthest through the kingdom, we presume it might give more just ideas of the true state of things on this continent, than it is probable many at present have."—(*Ib.* p. 39.)

The letters from the "Dissenting Committee" in England, in reply, show that the business there had been placed in trustworthy hands. In 1772, the Committee say, "the persons in power do not seem to be at all for it at present, and we hope never will."—(*Ib.* p. 36.)

Here are the details, and the results, of a plan, of which absolutely nothing has been generally known. It was an "Anti-Episcopal League." It was started in New York and Philadelphia. It was the creature of some of the ablest, shrewdest men in the country. It apparently worked in the dark. By Churchmen it was felt, but not seen. It was designed to embrace "all the Colonies." Through its Sub-Committees, and its letter-writers, it aimed at enlisting an active opposition throughout the entire country against the Church. It then brought its concentrated strength to bear upon the English Ministry and people. And the one main point, never lost sight of, year after year, was, to deprive the Church in the Colonies, already growing amidst persecution and obloquy, of the benefit of the Episcopate. To gain that end they threatened the English Government with a Colonial War. The issue which they made was, dare to send us Bishops and we raise the standard of revolt.

Looking at this scheme from the present distance, its comprehensiveness, its concentration of energy, its steadiness of purpose, and its efficiency, we pronounce it, as a stroke of policy, worthy of Napoleon himself; whatever we may think of its justice or its charity. Indeed, we cannot but have some suspicions of its honesty, when, only a few years later, we find

so many of these Episcopal Jacobites! proving loyal subjects of the House of Hanover; while these devoted petitioners are busy in preaching and fanning the flames of insurrection. We dismiss this whole matter with asking two simple, but not unmeaning questions. First: Did this Comprehensive Union between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, which was kept up for nine years, and down to the Revolution—*an event which they clearly foresaw*—contemplate *something a little more positive* than the negation of Episcopacy? Second: Has the scheme first conceived by the Presbyterians, to merge all doctrinal and disciplinary differences, and make common cause with Congregationalism, merely in order to get up a crusade against Episcopacy,—we ask, has, or has it not, found its natural reward in the jarring history of Presbyterianism for the last twenty-five years? Perhaps this latter question can be answered by our friends at Princeton.

We are now brought down to the time, when the claims on the Mother Church for the Episcopate, if urged at all, must be urged on other grounds. The Revolutionary War broke that peculiar tie which had so long bound together the Mother and the Daughter; and that Daughter at once assumed her position, and strove, and strove successfully, to gain a name and a praise in the earth. The policy of the English Church, as such, had been cold and heartless, faithless and time-serving. She learned from it some lessons of instruction, which she is now reducing to practice. Still the record of the charities of her noble sons, is redolent of blessed memories, and it were ungrateful in us not to acknowledge it to her, and to God.

In speaking of the efforts made to obtain the Episcopate for the Colonies, we had hoped to quote the importunate language of a larger number of the Missionaries themselves. Men, known and loved in the Church, have, in these letters, published and unpublished, left a witness of their faith and zeal. Evans, Leaming, Mansfield, Hubbard, Scovill, Lyon, Caner, Cooper, Macsparran, Beach, Inglis, Muirson, Seabury, Neill, Ogilvié, Miln, Honyman, Cutler, Barnett, Cupples, Hall, Moir, Urmston, Thomas, Le Jau—these, and such as these, are the men, whose names, with Chandler and Johnson, are engraven on the foundation-stones of the American Church, and there they will live till the Church militant is lost in the Church triumphant. There was nerve and sinew, strength and firmness, in their character; wisdom in their far-reaching plans and aims; and in their vow of self-sacrifice upon the

altar of Christ, a passport—not to false position, inglorious ease, and the ephemeral eclat of the fickle multitude,—but to hardships, reproach on earth, and a crown of glory on high. May they never want successors.

It is also a part of our appropriate work, to notice the hindrances to obtaining the Episcopate, which were thrown in the way by the *Episcopal Colonies*, Maryland and Virginia. It is a sad blot on our escutcheon. The Legislature of Virginia *unanimously* voted the thanks of the house to certain of the clergy for the "wise and well-timed opposition they have made to the pernicious project of a few mistaken clergymen; for introducing an American Bishop."—(Hawks' History of Ch. in Virginia, p. 130.) In Maryland the opposition was scarcely less general or virulent. The original cause of this opposition must be found, alas! in the character of the clergy themselves. Of the Virginia clergy, Dr. Hawks says, "but few clergymen of merit were found willing to make it their permanent habitation. Clergymen emigrated, indeed, but so far as the Colony was concerned, better had it been had they remained at home. Many came such as wore black coats, and could babble in a pulpit, roar in a tavern, exact from their parishioners, and rather by their dissoluteness, destroy than feed their flocks."—(Hawks' Virginia, p. 64, and "Hammond's Leah and Rachel," there quoted.) And Dr. Chandler, writing to the Bishop of London, after his return from a visit in Maryland, says, "The general character of the clergy, I am sorry to say, is most wretchedly bad. * * * It would really, my Lord, make the ears of a sober heathen tingle to hear the stories that were told me by many serious people of several clergymen in the neighborhood of the parish where I visited: but still, I hope that some abatement may fairly be made on account of the prejudices of those who related them."—(Hawks' Eccl. Contributions, vol. ii, pp. 249–50.) The well substantiated reports concerning some of the clergy, fully justify the above description.

Here we see reason enough for opposition to an efficient Episcopate. Here we see the secret of the failure of the Church in Maryland and Virginia; of the growth of Dissent; of the alienation of the people; and of the ultimate spread of that rampant infidelity, which swept over that whole region, the home of the chivalric Cavalier, poisoning Virginia's noblest sons, and planting seeds of death which have not yet done bearing fruit. Could a vigorous discipline have guarded the sacred altars, what a field of beauty and of promise might

not the abundant wealth now lost to the Church, the enlightened warm-hearted piety in those States have this day presented. Thank God! for the stout hearts, rallying at length around the Flag of the Cross; whose ample folds, long dishonored, trailed in the dust, are thrown once more to the winds of Heaven. And there we trust they will wave in beauty, till the trumpet's tones shall proclaim, that the victory of the Cross is complete.

There are two other questions which we have had forced upon us in tracing this thread of history. What had the subject of an American Episcopate to do in causing, or in hastening, the American Revolution? And what would have been the effect on the civil state of the country, had the experiment of American Bishops been fairly made?

As to this latter question, there can be no doubt that the cause of loyalty would have been strengthened. Churchmen would have preached then, as they are preaching now, "*obedience to Law.*" Says Boucher, "In all the Colonies to the north of Pennsylvania, the clergy of the Church of England were, I believe, without a single exception, *uniformly loyal.*"—(Boucher's Discourses, p. xlviii.) Nor ought it to be forgotten, that loyalty at the north was not confined to Churchmen. In all the eastern and most thickly settled part of Massachusetts, a large majority of the *Congregational* ministers were loyalists. This fact we have from the unquestionable authority of one who has carefully examined the subject. In Pennsylvania and the southern Colonies, many of the clergy, as well as the leading laity, sympathized in the revolutionary movement. Still, whatever might have been the temporary result of a vigorous Episcopate, no sane man will now question the propriety, and the necessity of the act, which severed the Colonies from the mother country. That the government of the one hundred millions, who are soon to people this vast Continent, cannot, and ought not, to be administered by a court three thousand miles distant, is self-evident. The event of the American Revolution was as inevitable, sooner or later, as any other in the ordinary workings of the Providence of God. It resulted from one of those first truths, which lie at the basis of all human society, and which are as indisputable, as the right to breathe, or of the human heart to beat.

The other question, is one, which we have no room thoroughly to discuss. The elder President Adams said, "The apprehension of Episcopacy contributed, as much as any

other cause, to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the Colonies. This was a fact as certain as any in the history of North America."—(Morse's Annals, pp. 197-203.) We have also traditionary proof, that the "Stamp Act," and "tithes for the support of Bishops," were coupled together in the appeals of Puritan ministers, to excite the people to resistance against the mother country. That all such apprehensions were utterly groundless, the plan of the Episcopate, as carefully matured and settled in this country and in England, fully shows. That the Puritan Establishment in New England, thoroughly intolerant, saw something to fear from the growth of the Church, is probable. That it had somewhat to do in stirring up the cold blood of the Puritans to insurrection, is more than probable. But that it was one of the main exciting causes of the Revolution, is an utter absurdity. Those causes, as then published to the world, and echoed at this day in the hearts of millions, were of another kind. Intelligent men saw, as Franklin, before the Revolution, said, "this event [the introduction of a Bishop] will happen neither sooner nor later, for our being, or not being, under a royal government." We have also traditionary evidence, that when it became certain the separation of the Colonies from the mother country would take place, the Puritans adopted measures with a view to secure their religion as the established religion of the country. But a religious establishment of any kind was utterly impossible. At the period of the Revolution, the final issue of the struggle was yet quite too uncertain. The necessity of entire and cordial union of all the Colonies too imperative. The influence of the Church in some of the Colonies too decided. And thus freedom in religion, the severance of Church and State, under our Government, *was the result rather of Providential circumstances, than of religious conviction.*

Sacred as was the right, however, of Churchmen to the Episcopacy as a part of their religious system, and of which no power on earth could rightly deprive them; serious and multiform as were the evils of their deprivation of that right, still, it is not impossible, nay, is it not certain, that God, in withholding it temporarily, had a purpose of wisdom and mercy to the Church? It dissociated the Church, in the public mind and heart, from all ideas of regal oppression. It opened the way for the future organization of the Church, in more

complete harmony with the primitive model, than any other Branch of the Church now existing; the reactive influence of which the Mother Church herself is now beginning to feel. The Church came to this country with the first Colonists that set foot on American soil. The first hallowing voices of Prayer and Praise, echoing along the shores and in the primeval forests of Virginia and New England,—the sublimest spectacle of Christian worship since the early days—(*see Bishop Burgess' Address to the Convention of Maine, 1851,) the first Sacramental Rites, the first Preaching of Christ the Crucified, were hers. The Church and the State threw off their swathing bands at the same time, and both started on their infant race together. Providence has strangely linked their early history; and we believe the destiny of the one is closely connected with the destiny of the other. May God inspire the heart of His Church with a just conception of the magnitude of her present work: with Faith and wisdom to plan, with unity, and strength, and zeal to execute, deeds worthy the successors of the noble men who have gone before us.

*That the first acts of Christian Worship ever performed in New England, were those of the Church of England, there is no reason to doubt. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Burgess, in his late Address to his Convention, thus states the facts:

"In the very same year in which Virginia was settled, an English colony was attempted near the mouth of the Kennebec. It was led by men closely allied to some of the most eminent characters of that day; by a nephew of Raleigh and a brother of the Chief Justice of England. When these men landed, on the 11th of August, 1607, they returned thanks to Almighty God, and listened to a sermon, upon the shore. These services were unquestionably those of members of the Episcopal Church of England; and there can be no doubt that this first recorded instance of public worship in New England was attended by the use of the Book of Common Prayer.

"That enterprise was relinquished in the following year; but in 1617, another company wintered at Saco, under the patronage of Gorges, the first proprietor of the province, a warm Protestant and Episcopalian, of all whose plans the establishment of the doctrines and usages of his own Church formed a distinguished part. Two or three clergymen afterwards officiated at the earliest settlements along the coast; and William Morell, Richard Gibson and Robert Jordan are thus to be held in remembrance. *The colony founded in Maine was essentially Episcopalian, till its civil and ecclesiastical independence was gradually supplanted through the encroachments of the neighboring colony of Massachusetts; a result that was not fully accomplished till after half a century.*"

ART. IV.—CHURCH LANDS IN VERMONT.

HIS Excellency, Benning Wentworth, was commissioned Governor of New Hampshire in 1741. In his commission, the southern boundary of the Province was declared to run westward until it met his Majesty's other governments. This was indefinite language, and Wentworth claimed that his jurisdiction extended as far west, as the line that had been made the western boundary of Connecticut and Massachusetts. This claim was encouraged by the fact, that New Hampshire had been directed by the King, to provide for the support of Fort Dummer, built by Massachusetts, on the western side of the Connecticut, and which was afterwards found to be north of the limits of that colony. This was held to be an admission, that the territory of New Hampshire extended west of the Connecticut. Wentworth, in a letter to Gov. Clinton of New York, dated Nov. 17, 1749, informed him that he had been directed by the Crown to grant charters of the unimproved lands of New Hampshire. Accordingly, the same year, he made a grant of a township six miles square, on what he claimed to be the western line of his jurisdiction. This town was called Bennington, from his own name; and was the first town chartered in Vermont. In consequence of the exposure of the country to Indian depredations, charters were in but little request, and fifteen only were granted during the next four years. Confidence was again restored by the conclusion of the French war in 1760, and at the close of 1764, the New Hampshire grants west of the Connecticut amounted to one hundred and forty. These grants were, in the charter, divided into seventy equal shares. On the back of each charter the following reservation was inscribed. "His Excellency Benning Wentworth a tract of land containing five hundred acres; which is to be accounted two of the within shares. One whole share for the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. One share for a Glebe for the Church of England as by law established. One share for the first settled minister of the Gospel. One share for the benefit of a school in said town." This reservation is the origin of what have been long known as the Church lands in Vermont, or the Glebe and Propagation rights.

The right of New Hampshire to grant these charters was

denied by the Governor of New York, who claimed the jurisdiction of the territory ; he declared them null and void ; and gave charters for many of the lands to other settlers. Many of the settlers under the New Hampshire grants, fearful as to the validity of their titles, thought it prudent to take new charters, or a confirmation of these old ones, from the authorities of New York. To quiet these fears, Gov. Wentworth assured his grantees that as the dispute between the authorities of New Hampshire and New York was merely one of jurisdiction, even if the jurisdiction should be found to belong to New York, it would not affect their titles, as the King would undoubtedly confirm them. But after the decision of his Majesty in 1764, that the west bank of the Connecticut was the boundary between the two colonies, the New Hampshire grants being treated as void by the authorities of New York, the grantees sent an agent to England to procure a confirmation of their titles. The Propagation Society, having learned that their titles were disputed, presented a petition to the King in the spring of 1767, complaining that New York had deprived them of their lands. This petition was read before the King in Council, and a copy of it was ordered to be forwarded to the Governor of New York. This was done in a letter from Lord Shelburn to Sir Henry Moore. In this letter he was reprimanded and forbidden to make any more grants of land in the disputed territory, until the further expression of his Majesty's pleasure. This letter was presented to the Council of New York, at a meeting held in Fort George, June 10, 1767. To the complaint of the Society it was answered, that as the four towns which had applied to New York for new charters, had not produced their old ones, it was not known what reservations they contained—and the government were not aware that in the New Hampshire grants, it had been usual to reserve any land for public uses—and that as the new charters had not yet passed the seals, the usual reservations to the Society and other purposes, should be inserted. As soon as the Governor and Council discovered that such reservations had been made, the like were inserted into the grants which they issued.

In the irritation caused in New York by the order, suspending the power of the Governor of that Province to make grants in the territory in controversy, the prohibition was attributed to the impression made by the Society's influence ; and in a statement of the controversy, published by order of the Assembly of New York, Governor Wentworth is openly

charged with having spared no pains to preëngage the Society and the Clergy of the Establishment, by assigning in his charters a portion of land to their use. As this is an unsustained allegation, made in the heat of passion, it deserves no reply.

The troubles of the Revolution having begun soon after this time, emigration to these grants was checked, and the Society and other public rights lay in their state of nature, unappropriated and unimproved. The inhabitants of the grants in 1777, impelled by the necessities of their position declared themselves a free jurisdiction, independent both of New Hampshire and New York, adopted a constitution and organized a government. New Hampshire made no opposition to this movement, but seemed rather inclined to regard it with favor. New York manifested all its old hostility to the measure. As we are concerned only with the result, suffice it to say that in 1790, New York, for a satisfactory consideration, relinquished its claims to jurisdiction over any portion of Vermont, and agreed that all rights and titles to lands within the same under grants from the government of the Colony of New York, or from the State of New York, should cease, those excepted which had been made in conformation of the New Hampshire grants. Since that time the rights to property conveyed by those grants have remained undisturbed.

After the conclusion of the Revolutionary war, emigration to Vermont proceeded rapidly. The Society rights and Church Glebes soon attracted the cupidity of those who, having no attachment to the Church, would have been glad to sequester to other purposes, what had been designed for her support and extension. These lands having lain so long unclaimed it may have been supposed, that they had been abandoned. As to the Glebes, the probability seemed very remote that the Church would exist in many of the towns to take possession of them. The doctrine soon began to be maintained that the titles to the Propagation and Glebe lots, created by the New Hampshire charters, had been extinguished by the Revolution. The first direct attempt to sequester these lands, was made by President Wheelock and the Trustees of Dartmouth College in the year 1786. On Oct. 18th of that year, they made application to the Legislature, for a grant of Society and Glebe lots, as an endowment for that institution, enforcing the application by an offer to give an equivalent to the State in the education of its youth. This scheme, though at first it seemed likely to succeed, finally proved abortive. The joint Committee of the Council and of the Assembly, to whom the

proposal was referred, reported in its favor and recommended it as worthy the attention of the Legislature at its next session. The Report of the Committee is worthy of notice, as it shows what opinions had begun to prevail as to the ownership of these lands: "Resolved, that in the opinion of this Committee, the lands formerly claimed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in consequence of the Revolution, are now become the property of the citizens of Vermont." At the next session of the Legislature, in 1787, before the subject was again taken up, a petition was presented, signed by Nathaniel Chipman, then Chief Justice of the State, and by several others, setting forth, that there are within this State, many rights of land formerly granted to a Society in Great Britain by the name of the Society, &c., and that said Society have proposed to convey said land to a Society or Societies, to be incorporated under the direction of any State where such lands may lie, and praying that a Society may be incorporated for the purpose of communicating with the aforesaid Society in Great Britain, and of receiving from them a conveyance of the aforesaid lands.

The Propagation Society, on the 20th of May, 1785, had passed this resolution: "*Resolved*, That the Secretary do write to some one or more of the members of the Church of England in the States of America, in which the Society has any property, to take all proper care in securing said property; and further to inform such persons, that it is the intention of the Society to make over all such property to the use of the Episcopal Church in that country, in whatever manner or form, after communication with the several governments, shall appear most effectual for that purpose." This petition was not honored with so much as a reference, having been read and dismissed. The petition from the College was soon taken up and referred to a Committee with power to name commissioners, &c. The Committee reported in favor of referring the subject again to the next Session. This recommendation was adopted: but the same day, it was reconsidered by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three, when it was resolved, "That the proposals from the College are such as cannot be accepted." It seems to be to this that the President of the University of Vermont refers in his Inaugural, where he says of some of the prominent statesmen of that day, "That they disdain the craven policy of exchanging the public domain for the privilege of educating the sons of Vermont on the soil of a sister State." At this same Session a petition from Guilford

prayed for a lease of the Society lot in that town; and another from Weathersfield, "that this right of the Society there might be granted to that town for the purpose of schooling children and youth; and maintaining the Gospel ministry." The avidity to get the occupancy of the Church lands, manifested in these petitions, suggested to the Legislature the Act of that Session, empowering and directing the Selectmen of the several towns, to take the lands under their care, eject by legal process those who had taken possession of them—lease them out and apply the rents and profits to their improvement. This Act was to be in force for seven years. The towns, however, paid no attention to an Act from which they were to derive no advantage, and which Act made no provision for the expenses incident to its execution. An additional Act was therefore passed for this purpose in 1789, but it did not secure any greater attention to the lands.

The few Churchmen dispersed through Vermont, began about this time to consult, as opportunities offered, upon the propriety and the means of urging the claims of the Church to the lands which had been granted for her use. A primary Convention was held at Arlington, in Sept. 1790. This Convention was attended by only two Clergymen. A Committee, however, was appointed to lay the Church's claim to the land by petition before the Legislature. In October, 1792, such a petition was presented at Rutland, from members of the Episcopal Church Convention, praying that all the powers and authority which the Selectmen have in the respective towns over Glebe and Society lands in this State, in which there are no settled and officiating Clergymen, given them by virtue of the Act of 1787, may, so far as respects the Glebe lands, be transferred to the Standing Church Committee appointed by the Convention, and their successors in office. This petition refers only to the Glebes, as the Church had no authority as yet to address the Legislature on the subject of the Propagation rights. It was referred to a Committee of one from each County to join a Committee of the Council. This Committee reported a Bill, entitled, "An Act incorporating and given certain powers to the Church Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Convention within this State." This Bill was read and ordered to be referred to the next Session. It does not appear from the Journal of that Session, that it was again taken up. The petition refers to a proviso in the Act of 1787, in which the Legislature so far respected the title of the Church to the Glebe lots, as to ordain that nothing contained in the Act,

should extend so far as to prevent any Episcopal ministers during the time of their ministry, that now or hereafter may be in possession of any Glebe lot or right, or actually officiating in said town where the land lies, and is an ordained minister of the Episcopal Church, from having the management of said lots and the avails arising therefrom during the present septenary.

While the lands were thus under the control of the Select Men, an effort was made in another quarter to get possession of them for educational purposes. A petition was presented to the Legislature, Oct. 14, 1794, from certain persons, in behalf of the University of Vermont, stating that the Propagation rights had merged in the Legislature! and as those rights were by the grantor intended for public and pious uses, and have not been appropriated; and that they may be made useful in extending a knowledge of the Scriptures, and the Arts and Sciences to this and the ensuing generations, the petitioners pray for liberty to bring in a Bill, appropriating these rights to the University. A Bill, upon permission granted, was brought in and laid upon the table, and not taken up again; as within a fortnight the Legislature passed two Acts; one giving to the Towns the use of the Propagation Rights for the support of Schools; and another giving them the Glebes for the support of religious worship.

The prefaces to these Acts are worthy of notice. The Act appropriating the Propagation lands is thus introduced: "Whereas, by the customs and usages of Nations, no aliens can, or of right ought to, hold real estate in a country to whose jurisdiction they are not, or cannot be made amenable or responsible; and, whereas, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, is a corporation created and existing in a foreign jurisdiction, to which they alone are amenable: by reason whereof at the time of the late Revolution of this and the United States from the jurisdiction of Great Britain, all lands in this State granted to the Society, became vested in this State, and have to this time remained unappropriated; and, whereas, it appears to this Legislature that said lands might be more useful if granted for the purposes of Education than in any other way, therefore, resolved," &c.

The preface to the Glebe Act is as follows:—"Whereas, by the first principles of our Government, it is contemplated that all religious sects and denominations of Christians, whose religious tenets are consistent with allegiance to the Constitution and Government of this State, should receive equal protection

and patronage from the civil power; and, whereas, it is contemplated in the grants heretofore made by the British Government, commonly called Glebe rights, that the use of said rights should be to the sole and exclusive purpose of building up the National Religion of a Government, diverse from and inconsistent with the rights of our own; for which reason, and on the principles of the Revolution, the property of said lots is vested in this State, therefore," &c.

These Acts did not discourage the Churchmen of Vermont. They still hoped that means might be devised to prevent the grants from being diverted from their original design. As the Society in England had expressed a readiness to convey its lands for the use of the Church in Vermont, the Convention at Rutland, Oct. 15, 1794, requested Col. I. A. Graham, whom it sent to England to procure the Consecration of Dr. Peters to the Episcopate, to address the Society on this subject. On his arrival in England he immediately addressed a note to Dr. Morice, Secretary to the Society, from Westminster, dated Feb. 4th, 1795, in which he stated that a strong party had sprung up in the Legislature to defeat the title to the Society's lands. He stated it as the opinion of the Convention, that the Society should quit claim its title to certain agents, to the use, and for the support of the Church; the Society to execute a power of attorney to the Agents to prosecute and defend all suits in the name of the Society; also power to compromise with the State and others; and to sell lands to pay the expenses, and the Trustees to indemnify the Society. A reply was immediately given that the Society would take the matter into consideration. In a note to Mr. Graham, dated March 23, the Society declined the proposal. No further efforts were made for the next ten years to recover possession of the lands. The Act of 1787 secured any Episcopal Clergyman, who had or should take possession of a Glebe, in his occupancy. The Act of 1794 repealed this proviso and left every Clergyman, thus in the occupancy of a Glebe, liable to a suit of ejectment. The Glebes in four towns, Arlington, Manchester, Pawlet and Sandgate, were thus occupied. The town of Manchester brought a suit against the Rev. Mr. Barber, to recover to its own use the Glebe in that town. The suit was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States. The ground taken by the prosecution was, that the Glebe grants were void because the grantees named in the Charter were not in existence to receive. Against this it was contended, and so the Court ruled, 1798, that at the time of

the grants, the Church of England had a corporate existence. A distinguished Jurist says, that he well remembers the look and emphatic language of Judge Patterson, who was then on the Bench, as he said, "Legislatures are not omnipotent; they cannot take this man's property and give it to that man," and then pronounced the act of 1794 unconstitutional and void. The case was not appealed, and Mr. Barber retained his Glebe.

The Legislature, however, paid no respect to this decision; for in 1805 they passed the Act, which appropriated the Glebes also to the support of Schools. In 1810 the town of Pawlet brought a suit of ejectment in the Circuit Court, for the District of Vermont, against the person in the occupancy of the Glebe in that town. The Court not being agreed, the case was certified to the Supreme Court. It was there argued by the Counsel for the Plaintiffs, of whom the Hon. Daniel Webster was one, that the original grant was either void for the want of a Grantee, or if not void, as a public reservation, devolved to the State of Vermont at the Revolution. The Court decided that the Grant was not void: but remained as a "Hereditas jacens;" and that the fee remained in abeyance until the existence of a Grantee to take it; that it belonged exclusively to the crown; and after the Revolution, to the State of Vermont, to erect a Church in the town of Pawlet, and collate a parson who should become seized of the Glebe, and be a Corporation capable of transmitting the inheritance. The Episcopal Church in the town of Pawlet, therefore, was not entitled to the Glebe, as it was a voluntary association of individuals, and not erected by the crown before the Revolution, nor by the State since. By this decision, 1815, the Glebes were forever lost to the Church.

In 1805, the Convention of Vermont, again, upon the motion of the Rev. Mr. Bronson, directed its Standing Committee to renew the effort to obtain from the Society a conveyance of its lands. To give weight to the application, the Convention resolved to request the Bishop of New York to take the Diocese under his supervision. In July, 1806, the application was forwarded by Bishop Moore, of New York. This application proposed, that the Society should execute a deed of trust to certain persons named, as it had done in the case of its lands in New Hampshire. "As no answer was received," says Mr. Bronson to whom we are indebted for these facts, "at the close of the next year, I wrote to General Bradley, our Senator in Congress, requesting him to inquire

of the British Minister touching this matter. He wrote me in his characteristic style, that it was not probable that a man brought up in a corrupt court, had any more knowledge of the Messiah's Kingdom, than the Tartars in Asia." Bishop Moore, the same year, wrote to the Society; but was informed that the Society declined acting in the matter until they had learned the result of their action in the case of their lands in New Hampshire. The event proved this to have been a wise caution. The deed of trust did not succeed, and the Society was compelled to substitute a power of Attorney in its place. To satisfy the Society that it might safely convey the use of its lands for the benefit of the Church in Vermont, the General Convention of 1811, at the instance of the Hon. Rufus King, requested the Presiding Bishop to certify to the Society, in the name of the Convention, the regular organization of the Church in that State, as a part of the Eastern Diocese; and to express its conviction that any deed of trust to Agents nominated for that purpose would be executed in good faith.

The War with Great Britain soon came on, and nothing could be done in this business, until its termination. After peace had been declared, Rev. Mr. Stewart, afterwards Bishop of Quebec, who gave so many tokens of his interest in the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States, kindly offered to use his influence with the Society, to effect the desired object; and the result was, that in the Spring of 1817, a power of Attorney arrived in this country, constituting Right Rev. Bishop Griswold, Rev. Abraham Bronson, Rev. S. A. Safford, Hon. Daniel Chipman, and Anson J. Sperry, Esq., agents to recover the Society lands, lease them, and collect and distribute the proceeds for the support of the Episcopal Church in Vermont. It was not until 1819, that any suit was brought for the recovery of any Society right. In that year a suit was commenced in the Circuit Court of the United States, against the town of New Haven. The suit, though resolutely defended under an appropriation by the State Legislature, was decided in favor of the Plaintiffs; was carried to the Supreme Court at Washington; and the judgment affirmed March, 1823, by the opinion of six judges, against one dissenting.

In the course of that year, about one-half of the lands were recovered and leased. The Board met at Middlebury, soon after the decision of the Supreme Court had been given; and organized by the appointment of the necessary officers and of agents in the several counties. Although the Society's right to its lands had thus been settled, nevertheless the Agents were

subjected to a long course of vexatious and expensive litigation, which was not finally ended until the year 1841. Every effort was made, which sectarian bitterness could suggest, to defraud the Church of the benefit of its property. The towns seemed willing to incur any expense, provided they could subject the Agents to the same; and throw upon them a debt which should absorb the revenue from the lands for many years to come. Happily these suits are at an end, and the expenses which they involved, fully paid. The Church in Vermont is at present in the receipt of about \$3,500 from one hundred, out of the two hundred and forty towns in the State. The remaining forty rights are lost, both because of the Statute of limitation, which precludes suits of ejectment against persons who have been in adverse occupancy fifteen years, and also because of the impossibility of identifying the lots in some of the towns. In a few towns, the original records have been defaced, apparently with the design of defeating the Society's title. "As the proprietors had the whole management of laying out the lands, it is easy to imagine," says Mr. Bronson, "how the public right, which ought to be more than three hundred acres in townships six miles square, should prove in most cases to be less than half that quantity, and greatly inferior in quality to the private rights."

The present income from the Society's lands in Vermont may appear small. The lots have usually been leased at a rent considerably below their actual value; as it was thought expedient at the time, to renew the leases to the former lessees at the rent which had been affixed by the towns. The time may come when the Agents may think it their duty to the Church, to demand a rent approaching the real value of the lots. Of the original Agents, but one, the Rev. A. Bronson, is yet living. The Society have three times since the first power of Attorney was granted, appointed additional agents, to supply the vacancies occasioned by death and removals from the State. The present Agents are the Right Rev. John H. Hopkins, D. D., President of the Board, ex-officio, Rev. Joel Clap, D. D., Secretary, Rev. John A. Hicks, D. D., Jonathan Hagar, Esq., Hon. Dorastus Wooster, Hon. Isaac F. Redfield, Hon. George T. Hodges, Charles Linsley, Esq., Henry F. Greene, Esq. The Board meet annually at Middlebury, on the 3d Tuesday in July, to make their appropriations and transact other business. The powers under which they appropriate is expressed in this language in the instrument: "There shall be appropriated annually such parts and shares of

the surplus rents, and profits and incomes of the said several rights and shares of land, as the said Attorneys and the survivor and survivors of them, or a majority of them, shall judge just and proper to the use and benefit of such person as is, or shall be, for the time being, duly and canonically, consecrated to the office of Protestant Bishop in the said State; and the remaining shares of land, or some part thereof, shall be appropriated according to the discretion of the Attorneys, to the use and support of a Clergyman, or Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in each of the aforesaid towns, in cases in which a Church has been or shall be formed therein, and the worship of God performed according to the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. And in the towns, in which no Church shall have been established, the said surplus rents, shall be appropriated to the support of such Clergymen, building of Churches and for such other purposes and uses, having for their object the benefitting such Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Vermont, and the Clergy thereof, as the said Agents shall judge will best conduce to the welfare of said Church."

We have thus given a brief history of the Church lands in Vermont. The Churchmen of that diocese have especial reasons for an affectionate regard for the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and they will give a most hearty assent to the language of a distinguished prelate, who, in speaking of its incorporation by his Majesty King William III, says, that "as it was among the last, so was it one of the most beneficent acts of his illustrious reign." Rev. George Talbot, who attended the Rev. George Keith, in his tour of exploration through New England, as the Agent of the Society soon after its Incorporation, in a report of their proceedings, says of him, "He has set up such a light in these dark places, as by God's blessing will not be put out." The position which the Church now holds, where she was then scarcely known, is owing, under God, to the persevering labors of the Venerable Society, whose appropriations, which Mayhew said "were annually sunk in the Episcopal gulf of New England," have been productive of results that gladden the hearts of all who love the cause of primitive truth and apostolic Order. He had characterized the Church of England as "an enormous Hierarchy ascending by various gradations from the dirt to the skies"—adding, "We cannot well think of this Church gaining ground among us, and of seeing Bishops fixed among us." But the deed has been done, and the Church now stands among us, the strongest bulwark of Protestant Christianity.

ART. V.—THE REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL, D. D.,*

RECTOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE ADVENT, BOSTON.

How sacred is the sympathy of sorrow ! It is the "touch of nature," which "makes the world, all kin." It melted the humanity of Jesus, as He stood by that new grave. And, it is with Him, now, that He has "passed, into the heavens ;" and stands, where Stephen saw Him, "a great High Priest, touched with the feeling of our infirmities."

The river, which, at first, went out of Eden, is salt and bitter, since the Fall. It is the river, now, of tears : and waters, still, the world, which man inhabits. The electric spark, which, in twelve hours, had flashed your sorrows, on my heart, opened its secret sources ; and overflowed my manhood. I have wept, among my children. I have wept, beside his grave. And I am here, to weep, with you.

It was an ancient Roman superstition, that the place was sacred, which the lightning struck. How sacred must the spot be ever held, where I, now, stand : on which the lambent flame of love, from God, did but dissolve the bonds, which held it, here, to set the spirit of our beloved free ; and bid it welcome, to the Heaven, which Christ had opened for it ! And how cold and dead, must be our hearts, if, in the light of such an euthanasia, they be not waked from their dull dreams of earth ; and do not imp their wings, to take the upward flight, by which he went, to be with Jesus ! Oh, that the simple words, which I am now, please God, to speak, may have, through Grace, the unction of his life ; may bear, through Grace, the urgent warning of his death ; may win your souls, through Grace, to holiness, with the attraction, which drew him, to Heaven !

WILLIAM CROSWELL was born in Hudson, N. Y., on the 7th day of Nov., 1804. He was among that great company of the preachers, who were not born in the Church ; which their hearts have afterwards embraced, and to which their lives

* After the Bishop of New Jersey had consented to prepare a notice of the Rev. Dr. Croswell for this Review, he was requested by the Vestry of the Church of the Advent, to preach a Commemorative Sermon there. Hence the unaccustomed form of the present communication.

have been devoted. He was, thus, not baptized, till 1813; before which time, his father had removed to Albany, and had become a Churchman. A nobler Churchman does not live: nor one that has done better service to the Church, than the Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven. The lines, which William has recorded, with the date of his own two and thirtieth birthday, need no deduction, on the score of filial love; but are as true, as if they were not written by a Son.

"My father, proud am I, to bear
Thy face, thy form, thy stature;
But happier, far, might I but share
More, of thy better nature:
Thy patient progress, after good,
All obstacles disdaining;
Thy courage, faith, and fortitude,
And spirit, uncomplaining.

"Then, for the day, that I was born,
Well might I joy; and borrow,
No longer, of the coming morn;
Its trouble, or its sorrow:
Content, I'd be, to take my chance,
In either world, possessing,
For my complete inheritance,
Thy virtues, and thy blessing."

It is not now, the time, to dwell upon his childhood, or his youth. He was, throughout, a loving and obedient son. Singularly true and just, in thought, and word, and deed. Transparent in his conscientiousness, as purest chrystal. As an instance of it. When a child, at school, he was called up, by his Master, sharply; and reproved, for talking. "No, sir," his answer was: "I was not talking; but I was just going to!" The boy was "father of the man." He was devout, from his childhood: and, had read the Bible so constantly, that most of it was in his memory. The memories of home have never found a fitter utterance, than, in the lines—worthy of Burns; and like him—which he addressed, to his, when he had left it for the world.

"I knew my father's chimney top;
Though nearer to my heart, than eye:
And watched the blue smoke reeking up,
Between me, and the winter sky.

"Wayworn, I traced the homeward track,
My wayward youth had left, with joy:
Unchanged in soul, I wandered back;
A man, in years; in heart, a boy.

"I thought upon its cheerful hearth,
And cheerful hearts, untainted glee:
And felt, of all I'd seen, on earth,
This was the dearest spot, to me."

And, seldom has a pious Mother's influence been owned more feelingly and faithfully, than in the lines, addressed, to his; when he was thirty years of age.

"Oft, as I muse, on all the wrong,
The silent grief, the secret pain,
My froward youth has caused, I long
To live my childhood, o'er, again.
And, yet, they are not all, in vain—
The lessons which thy love, then, taught;
Nor, always, has it dormant lain—
The fire, from thy example caught.

"And, now, as feelings, all divine,
With deepest power, my spirit touch,
I feel, as if some prayer of thine,
My Mother! were availing much.
Thus, be it, ever, more and more,
Till it be thine, in bliss, to see
The hopes, with which thy heart runs o'er,
In fondest hours, fulfilled, in me."

We are reminded of St. Augustine's Mother, by these lines; and feel the assurance, which was given to her, that the child of prayers and tears, like hers, could not be lost. His early education was received, in New Haven,* and its neighborhood. He was, at one period, the catechumen of him, whom the whole Church, now, rejoices in, as Bishop of Western New York, Dr. DeLancey; then a student in Yale College: and he never ceased to speak, of his instructions, with the most affectionate and grateful reverence. He was, himself, also, a graduate of the same ancient and distinguished University;

* He was prepared for College by an excellent teacher, Mr. Joel Jones: since, greatly distinguished, as Mayor of the city of Philadelphia; a Judge, in its highest Courts; and President of Girard College.

having received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1822. His first communion was at the Christmas, in that year. He did not become a candidate for Orders, till 1826. Though, evidently, destined for the ministry, his diffidence and self-distrust kept him back. For a while, he contemplated the practice of medicine, as his profession. His theological studies were pursued, in part, at the General Seminary; but, chiefly, under the direction of the excellent Bishop of Connecticut; whom, now, my brother, it is my pleasure, also, to acknowledge, as my master in Theology. It was in 1826, that our intimate relations commenced. And man has never been in closer bonds, with man, than he, with me, for five and twenty years. A letter, from him, to a mutual friend, the witness and the sharer of our earliest years of happiness, brings down the tokens of his unswerving confidence, and perfect love, within the latest fortnight of his life. I do not hesitate to speak thus, personally; because your invitation to me, to preach here, is predicated, mainly, on these intimate relations: and, only, for their dear sake, could I have left my duties, to be with you. He came to Hartford; where I was, then, Professor, in Washington, now Trinity, College, at Bishop Brownell's instance; to be associated, with me, in the direction of the Episcopal Watchman. I remember, as if it were but yesterday, our earliest meeting; at a hearth, as bright and blessed,* as was ever kindled by the glow of Christian hospitality. And, never was a happier circle gathered, than met, almost nightly, there, for years. Our intercourse was intimate, at once; and we never had a feeling, or a thought, to part us. His contributions to the Watchman, were chiefly poetical. The following Sonnet was the first:—

“O Thou, whom slumber reacheth not, nor sleep—
 The guardian God of Zion, in whose sight,
 A thousand years pass, like a watch, at night—
 Her battlements and high munitions keep;
 Or else, the WATCHMAN waketh, but in vain!
 Him, in his station, newly set, make strong,
 And, in his vigils, vigilant. Sustain
 His overwearied spirit, in its long
 And lonely round, from eve, till matin-song;
 And, of Thy charge, remind him—‘Watch and Pray!’”

* When I name Dr. Sumner's, how many hearts will answer! She, who was its chiefest joy, was taken, from her loved ones, with as little warning, as our dear mutual friend. “How grows, in Paradise, our store!”

So, whether coming, at the midnight bell,
Or at cock-crowing, or at break of day,
Thou find him faithful; and say, 'All is well;'
How rich is the reward of that true Sentinel!"

Could it have been any better, or any different, if he had been premonished, of his course, through life; or, if he had written it, on the day, on which his life was closed? His poetical contributions to the *Episcopal Watchman*, were numerous; in addition to his valuable services, as Editor: and they won for him a high and honorable place, among the very few, to whom the name of poet can be given. Every thing, that he ever wrote, in verse, was strictly occasional. It was so much of his heart-life, set to music. He lived it, every line. And it was all inspired, at the hearth-side, or at the Altar-foot. It was domestic, often; always, sacred. He fulfilled, in every verse, that beautiful suggestion, of the *Sky Lark*, to the mind of Wordsworth:

"Type of the Wise; who soar, but never roam:
True to the kindred points, of Heaven and home."

In that incomparable modesty, which set off, in its mild, opal, light, his virtues and his graces, he thought very poorly of these admirable productions: and has half suggested the desire, that they remain, still, fugitive. But, this must not be suffered. They are part and parcel of his nature, and of his office. As he lived them; so he preaches, in them; and will, while the Gospel shall be preached. What could more clearly vindicate, for him, the name of Christian Poet, than his lines, entitled "*The Ordinal*," written, on the day of his ordination, by Bishop Brownell, in his father's Church, at New Haven, St. Paul's Day, 1829.

"Alas, for me, if I forget
The memory of that day;
Which fills my waking thoughts; nor yet,
E'en sleep can take away!
In dreams, I still renew the rites,
Whose strong, but mystic, chain
The Spirit, with its God, unites;
And none can part, again.

"How oft the Bishop's form, I see,
And hear that thrilling tone,

Demanding, with authority,
The heart, for God, alone ;
Again, I kneel, as, then, I knelt,
While he, above me, stands ;
And seem to feel, as, then, I felt,
The pressure of his hands.

"Again, the priests, in meet array,
As my weak spirit fails,
Beside me, bend them down, to pray,
Before the chancel rails ;
As, then, the sacramental host
Of God's elect are, by ;
When many a voice its utterance lost,
And tears dimmed many an eye.

"As then, they, on my vision, rose,
The vaulted aisles, I see ;
And desk, and cushioned book repose,
In solemn sanctity ;
The mitre, o'er the marble niche,
The broken crook and key ;
That, from a Bishop's tomb, shone rich,
In polished tracery.

"The hangings, the baptismal font,
All, all, save me, unchanged ;
The holy table, as was wont,
With decency arranged ;
The linen cloth, the plate, the cup,
Beneath their covering shine ;
Ere priestly hands are lifted up,
To bless the bread and wine.

"The solemn ceremonial, past ;
And, I am set apart
To serve the Lord, from first, to last,
With undivided heart !
And, I have sworn, with pledges dire,
Which God and man have heard,
To speak the holy truth, entire,
In action and in word.

"Oh Thou, who, in Thy holy place,
Hast set Thine orders, three,
Grant me, Thy meanest servant, grace,
To win a good degree :

That, so, replenished, from above,
 And, in my office, tried,
 Thou may'st be honored; and, in love,
 Thy Church be edified!"

I had come to Boston, in 1828: and, in 1829, he came here,* to Christ Church, as successor to the Reverend Dr. Eaton; who, spared, in providential love, to wend his patriarchal way, among the children's children of his first parishioners, was strangely called to commend the parting spirit, of his son, and brother, in the faith and ministry of Christ, into the hands of Him, who gave it. He was ordained, a Priest, and instituted, Rector of Christ Church, on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1829, by the venerable Bishop Griswold. How he loved the very dust, that generations had gathered, upon that ancient edifice; how faithfully he did his Master's work, there, for eleven years; how much he attached, to him, the affectionate confidence of his parishioners; how many feet he gathered, within the fold, how many souls he knit into the faith, of Jesus Christ; there are those, here, who know, and can bear witness. How deeply his heart yearned, to leave its time-honored walls, when called to another scene of pastoral labor,† his loving spirit has borne testimony, itself, in one of his own most beautiful and touching lyrics. How warmly he had cherished, and how faithfully he had kept alive, the feelings of his ordination, another of them, bearing date, at noon, on the sixth an-

* A mutual friend, who knew him thoroughly, and loved him, even, more, reminds me, that my first remark, after being established, here, was, "Now, we must have Croswell!" On his first appearance, in Christ Church, another of the three, who were, to me, as Noah, Daniel, and Job, said, to him, "How do you like Mr. Doane's friend?" "Oh," was his prompt reply, "he looks as amiable as Dr. Watts!"

† He took with him, to the diocese of Western New York, the following dimissory letter:

DEAR SIR:—The object of this, is to transfer, from the State of Massachusetts, to your Diocese, the Rev. Wm. Croswell. Merely, to say, that, for three years last past, he has not been justly liable to evil report, for error in doctrine, or viciousness of life, though eminently true, seems, in his case, very unnecessary. He will leave behind him no Clergyman, more highly, more justly, or more generally esteemed, for those qualities which constitute and adorn the gentleman, the scholar, and the faithful minister of Christ. While, with many hundreds of others, I deeply regret his loss, to this Diocese; I may well congratulate you, on such an accession to yours. That, in his new situation, he may find friends, as numerous and as cordial as those he leaves, is the prayer of

Your friend and brother,

A. V. GRISWOLD.

To the Rt. Rev. Dr. DeLANCEY.

niversary of that event ; and, apparently, written, while alone, within its-hallowed walls, most fervently declares :

"How swift the years have come, and gone, since, on this blessed day,
A victim, at the altar's horn, I gave myself away !
And, streaming, through the house of God, a glory seemed to shine ;
Invisible to other eyes, but manifest, to mine.

* * * * *

"Oh Father, Mother, Brethren, 'Friends, no less than brethren, dear,'
Who promised, at this solemn hour, to be, in spirit, near,
Say, is it not your influence, in blended prayers, I feel,
As now, before the mercy seat, from many shrines, we kneel !

"I would my heart, might ever, thus, dissolve, with fervent heat,
As here, 'fast by the oracle,' the service I repeat :
That, ever, in my inmost soul, the same rejoicing light
Might burn, like Zion's altar flame, unquenchable and bright."

Four years, he ministered, as Rector of St. Peter's Church, Auburn ; earnestly, faithfully, most acceptably, and most successfully. But Boston had been the scene of the labors of his earliest love. His tastes and habits inclined him to a city life. The bonds of nature drew, this way. And, more than all, his heart was yearning to dissolve itself, upon a ministry, among the poor. It was no recent passion. It was the sacred fancy of his youth. Hours and hours, had we discoursed of it, together. His labors, while connected with Christ Church, had partaken largely of that character. He had been everybody's minister, that had no other. He had qualified himself, to be the servant of Christ's poor ; and, in his yearning nature, he could brook no other service. What could be plainer proof of this, than the following lines, which he wrote, in 1830 ; and which, ten days, before his death, he copied out, and sent to a Church paper, in New York, in which the claims of the poor find a devoted advocate :

"Lord, lead the way, the Saviour went,
By lane and cell, obscure ;
And let love's treasures still be spent,
Like His, upon the poor :
Like Him, through scenes of deep distress,
Who bore the world's sad weight ;
We, in their crowded loneliness,
Would seek the desolate.

"For Thou hast placed us, side by side,
In this wide world, of ill ;

And, that Thy followers may be tried,
The poor are with us, still.
Mean are all offerings, we can make :
But Thou has taught us, Lord,
If given, for the Saviour's sake,
They lose not their reward."

Who could have any doubt, as to where his heart was, who wrote these verses ; one and twenty years, ago ? Who but admires the steadfastness of purpose, and unrelenting self-devotion, to a sacred cause ; which, after one and twenty years, could re-produce, and re-adopt, and re-assert them ? Who, that loves him, or loves his Lord, would have his latest contribution, to the service of the Gospel, any other, in line or letter, than this is. Beautifully, feelingly, fervently, did he adopt, for the conclusion of the letter, which enclosed it—may we all have grace, to do so !—the admirable pre-advent Collect : " Stir up, we beseech Thee, O Lord, the wills of Thy faithful people ; that they, plenteously bringing forth the fruit of good works, may, by Thee, be plenteously rewarded ; through Jesus Christ, our Lord."

In 1844, these longings of his pious heart were met. A sufficient number of like minded persons was found, to organize a Church : whose sittings should be free, that all, who would, might come ; which should be supported, through the channel of the Weekly Offertory, that every one might lay up, on the Lord's Day, as the Apostle hath enjoined, according to his ability ; which should celebrate Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, in accordance with the order of the Prayer Book, and so be " a House of Prayer, for all people." The first meeting of the Corporation of the Church of the Advent, was on the evening of November 9, 1844 ; by a strange coincidence, the very day, whose seventh return was to take their Rector, from their head. The worship, for six months, was, as the earliest Christian worship was, in " an upper room." A suitable Hall was then provided and prepared ; which was in use, two years and a half. This present House of Prayer, secured and adapted, at the cost of \$17,000, was opened, at the beginning of the Advent season, in 1847. At the first service, about fifty persons were assembled. The present number of stated worshippers is computed, at ten or twelve times, that. The weekly offerings have continually increased ; and nearly equal the ordinary expenditure, for the service. Christ's poor, meanwhile, are not neglected. The pious purpose, of erecting a more Church-like and capacious structure,

has been kept in view ; and an accumulating fund begun, toward its accomplishment. While individuals have owned themselves the debtors of the Lord : one, in the offering of a costly service for the Holy Altar ; and others, in a valuable organ, and in other ways. The number of annual baptisms has increased, from ten, to fifty : and the number of Communicants, from seventy, to two hundred and twelve. The whole number of Baptisms has been 288 ; of persons confirmed, 109 ; and, of Communicants admitted, 333. From 75 to 100 children are reported as under Catechetical instruction.

These are encouraging statistics. This is a wonderful result. It is an enterprise, perplexed with hindrances. There is the prejudice, against it, that it is new. When, in fact, it is the Apostolic way. And there are private personal prejudices ; of pride, of selfishness, of incredulity, of inexperience, of settled habit. I never knew a man, that was so well fitted to contend with all these prejudices ; and overcome them. In the first place, he was filled, full, with the spirit of Christ. He was, emphatically, "a man of loves." His heart was large enough, to take in all the world. His generosity was unbounded. When he first heard of the undertaking, to relieve the institutions of the Church, at Burlington, from their indebtedness ; and so secure their perpetuity, he walked the floor, for very nervousness of joy : and said, that he had never so desired a private fortune ; that he might give it, all. And his kindness was as considerate and delicate, in all its details, as it was boundless, in its comprehension. He knew the very thing, to do ; the very word, to say ; the very time and place, to do it, and to say it. And, of this discriminating propriety, the poor have a most keen and accurate perception. And his faith was equal with his love. He was certain, that it was the ancient way ; and, *must* be right. With such a confidence, he could well afford to wait. He did not fix the time, for his results. He would go on ; and find them, when they came. Then, he was wonderful, in his humility. He esteemed every other, better than himself. He cared not, what the service was ; so he could do it. Nor, for whom it was ; so it would be received. And, from his humility, there sprang a beautiful simplicity ; which was a letter of universal commendation. He was a gentleman, not only ; but the gentlest man. No man ever was more acceptable, to the refined and intellectual. No man had, ever, easier access, to the poor, the ignorant, the vicious, the degraded. He won their confidence, at once. And, the more they saw of him, the

more they trusted. He was so considerate of their feelings. He was so charitable to their infirmities. He was so constant in his assiduity. He knew the strings in every broken heart ; and knew, from God, the medicine, to heal their hurts. He seemed, a ministering Angel, to them ; and they glorified God, in him. But, especially, he was so unreserved, in his self-sacrifice. One says, of him, "Dr. Croswell was instant, in season, and out of season. He never was known to refuse any call for service, or duty."* And another,† than whom no living man knows better what Christ's servant, with the poor, should be, speaks thus, of him, in words, which, coming, from the heart, go to it. "How they loved him ! Because he was like his Master." "Of Him, he had learned to be pitiful, to be courteous, to the poorest, to the humblest. How hard it is to be like him ; so true, so simple, in doing good. The distance was never too great, for him to go, to do good, for Christ's sake. The storm was never too severe, for him, to find his way, through it ; to relieve a tossed and beaten sufferer. The night was never too late, nor too dark, for him ; to find his way, to bear the Cross, with its consolations, to the bed of death." How plainly I can see him, now ; with his old cloak, wrapped about him, which he would gladly have given to the next poor man, if he had thought it good enough for him ; and with his huge overshoes, which, when he put them on, so deliberately, would always bring to mind, what the Apostle said, about having the "feet shod, with the preparation of the Gospel of peace." As he set out, upon his ministry of mercy, you might think him very slow ; and doubt, if he would find his way ; and wonder, when he would get back ; or, if he ever would. But, ere he slept, he would have threaded every darkest and most doleful lane, in the most destitute quarter of the city ; dived into cellars and climbed into garrets ; comforted a lonely widow ; prayed, by a dying sailor ; administered the Holy Communion to an old bed-ridden woman ; carried some bread, to a family of half-starved children ; engaged a mother, to be sure, and send her youngest daughter, to an infant school ; and "made a sunshine," in the shadiest places of human suffering and sorrow. And, when all this was done, if he had time for it, he would charm the most refined and intellectual, with his delightful conversation, and his pure and lambent playfulness. With a manner, that seemed quite too

* MS. letter.

† The Rev. E. M. P. Wells, of St. Stephen's House, Boston, Missionary to the poor ; in his last Annual Report of his labors, in the city of Boston.

quiet, there was an undercurrent of ceaseless, irrepressible, activity. And brightest thoughts, in happiest words, were ever oozing out, like fragrant gums, from some East Indian tree; as soft, as sweet, as balmy, as balsamic. "He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one." I may add, as justly, "Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading." He had an intuition for good books; and the best parts, of them; as he had, also, for good men.* With all, he did, and with the little, that he seemed to do—the very reverse of Chaucer's Sergeant, who "seemed busier, than he was"—he was at home, in all good English learning; with perfect mastery, among the poets. His classical attainments were much beyond the average. He was a well read divine; and beyond any man, I knew, was, "mighty in the Scriptures," and skillful, in his application of them. His sermons were entirely practical. The object of his preaching was apparent, always; to make men better. He sunk himself, entirely, in his theme: CHRIST JESUS, AND HIM CRUCIFIED. He had no manner. Yet, the perfect conviction, which he carried with him, from the first, that he was really in earnest, made him attractive, to all sorts of people: high and low, rich and poor, wise and simple, ignorant and learned; and profitable to all. And, whatever his discourse might be, in matter or in manner, there was the cogent application, always, of a holy and consistent life. His habits were simple, almost to severity. "Having food and raiment," he was "therewith content." What remained, after necessities were met, was so much for the poor. He was a Churchman, of the noblest pattern. A Churchman, of the Bible, and of the Prayer Book. A Churchman, with Andrewes, and Taylor, and Wilson. If he was least tolerant of any form of error, it was of that of Papal Rome. He would have burned, if need had been, with Latimer and Ridley. He made no compromise with novelties; but always said, "the old is better." There was no place for the fantastic, in his Churchmanship; it was taken up, too much, with daily work, and daily prayer, and daily caring for the poor. There was no antagonism, between his poetry and practice. His poetry was practical. It was the way-flower of his daily life: its violet, its cowslip, or its

* One of the keenest knowers, I have ever met, observed of him, that his knowledge of men was most remarkable. "It was hard to get his judgment," he remarked; "but, when you had it, it was a good one. He was a staff that you might lean on: sure, that it would neither bend nor break."

pansy.* It sprang up, where he walked. You could not get a letter, from him; though made up of the details of business, or the household trifles of his hearth, that some sweet thought, as natural, as it was beautiful, would not bubble up, above the surface; with prismatic hues, that marked it, his. His heart was wholly in the priesthood. He loved to pray. He loved to minister the Sacraments. He loved to preach. He loved to catechise the children. And, when he lifted up his manly voice, in the old hymns and anthems of the Church, it seemed, as if a strain of the eternal worship had strayed down, from Heaven. He was so modest and retiring, that few knew him, well. But, there is no one, that knew him well, that will not say, with me, "we shall not look upon his like, again." If he excelled, in any one relation, after his service to Christ's poor, it was in all the acts and offices of friendship. He was a perfect friend. So delicate, so thoughtful, so candid, so loving, so constant. More than my brother, for a quarter of a century, I dare not trust myself to speak, of what he was, to me; of what, I know, I was, to him. I never heard words spoken, with sincerer pleasure, than when, the other day, his old heroic father—who might well declare, with aged Ormond, that* "he would not exchange his dead son, for any living son, in Christendom"—said, to the coachman, who had driven us out, to weep together, by his grave: † "this is the Bishop of New Jersey; the best friend, that my son ever had, on earth." I would not covet, for my child, a richer earthly treasure, or a higher human praise, than to be William Croswell's best and dearest friend.

And, "Lycidas is dead; dead, ere his prime!" In the midst of his years and of his usefulness. When a keener enjoyment of his social and domestic comforts had been awakened, in him. When the work, which he loved, beyond his life, was prosperous, to his heart's content. When he was looking out, on life, after some years of trial and discouragement, not without physical suffering, with a more cheerful aspect. When the just estimate of his invaluable services, had placed his

* How fond he was of flowers! Beautiful tributes, in this kind, went with him, into the grave. He was a fond lover of music, too. Indeed, he had the gift of music, as of poetry: and proved it, not only by the part, which he took, personally in it, but by the character of the music which he introduced into the Church; and the whole air of that part of the worship. It is touching and solemn, in the highest degree.

† His mortal part rests, in the Burying Ground, at New Haven. It was his desire, recorded years ago, that he might be buried, "deep in the ground."

family, with him, in a convenient mansion, with becoming fixtures; so that he said to one, in his own pleasant way, "my feet are set in a large room!" When he had put in order his parochial and his personal papers. When he had planned, for the Advent season, in which he so delighted, the training of a class, for Confirmation; and had begun his course of teaching. When he had met his brethren and old friends, at Hartford, at the recent Consecration, there; and enjoyed them all, with a peculiar zest. When he had spent a happy day beside his father's hearth; glad that it rained, that he might stay at home, and have them all to his own self: and said, that he felt so much better, that he believed he would resume his old poetic trade. When he had spent, with his domestic dear ones, the interval of Sunday, with an even more than wonted cheerfulness; making his latest personal memorandum; and even dating the letter, which his little daughter was to send, to her Grandfather, next day. When he had secured, within the fold of Christ, the little child of a dear friend, whose baptism had, for weeks, been providentially delayed. When he was yet engaged, in the choicest work of his true pastoral heart, in feeding the lambs of Jesus; and had not yet wholly preached the sermon, which he had prepared, for little children: in an instant, in the twinkling of an eye—so that he gave the hymn, from memory, which he could not find, in his familiar prayer book;* and had to say the benediction, on his knees†—in an instant, "in the twinkling of an eye," "the silver cord" was loosed, the "golden bowl" was broken, the "pitcher" was "broken at the fountain, the wheel" was broken, "at the cistern: the dust" returned "to the earth as it was, and the spirit unto God, who gave it." A vein, that had been overtaken, in that majestic form—so beautiful, in death, that

* It is remarkable, that, in his embarrassment, though he gave out the first line of the eighty-eighth hymn, "Soldiers of Christ, arise!" he announced it, by number, as the *one hundred and eighty-eighth*; the third verse of which is, as follows:

"Determined are the days that fly,
Successive o'er thy head;
The numbered hour is on the wing,
That lays thee, with the dead."

In two hours, he was "with the dead."

† A Sermon preached by the Lord Bishop of Fredericton, in the Church of the Advent, three Sundays before the death of Dr. Croswell, contains the following sentence: "Suppose we were to be seized with a stroke of paralysis, or of any sudden disease, where could we be found with so much comfort, *as on our knees, in public prayer?*"—A note reminds the hearers, that these words are printed, as they were preached. How strange a coincidence!

one described it, when it had reached New Haven, as resembling some exquisite master piece of statuary*—had yielded to

* Every one spoke of his singular beauty in death. He was buried in his customary dress, over which was the surplice. It was one that had belonged to his friend, and mine, the Rev. Edward G. Prescott; who died, at sea, on his voyage, to Fayal. He has scarcely written anything more beautiful, than this tribute to his memory.

ELEGIAC :

Written, in a copy of Milton, presented by the Rev. E. G. Prescott; who died on his passage to the Azores, on the third day after his departure, on the morning of the 11th of April, 1844.

Thy cherished gift, departed friend,
With trembling, I unfold;
And fondly gaze upon its lids,
In crimson, wrought, and gold:
I open to its dirge-like strain,
Of one who died, at sea;
And, as I read of Lycidas,
I think, the while, of thee.

Thy languid spirit sought, in vain,
The beautiful Azores,
But, ere it reached the middle main,
Was wrapt, to happier shores.
As, in a dream-like halcyon calm,
It entered on its rest;
Amid the groves of Paradise,
And islands of the blest.

Kind friends, afar, at thy behest,
Had fitted bower and hall;
To entertain their kindred guest,
In evergreen Fayal.
In greener bowers, thy bed is made,
And sounder is thy sleep,
Than ever life had known; among
The chambers of the deep.

No mark, along the waste, may tell
The place of thy repose;
Yet, there is One, Who loved thee well,
And loved by thee, Who knows!
And, though, now sunk, like Lycidas,
Beneath the watery floor;
Yet, His great might, that walked the waves,
Shall thy dear form restore.

the rushing current of the life blood, from the brain : and there was a widow and an orphan, in his house ; and sheep without a shepherd, in his fold ; his aged parents and devoted brothers were bereaved of their beloved ; the twin was taken from my heart ; "Christ's poor had lost a Croswell."* Can I conclude, in fitter words, than, in his own, when I had written him, in 1834, of the last hours of my dear friend, the Rev. Dr. Montgomery ? "Your last most touching letter has made me 'weep with them that weep ;' and left my heart more tender, than ever, to the sacred sorrows of this week of the Passion. The following lines, the sincere impulse of my feelings, arranged themselves, almost spontaneously, as they stand."

"My brother, I have read
Of holy men, in Christ, who fell asleep ;
For whom no bitter tears of woe were shed :
I could not weep.

"And thou, thyself, art one,
O man of loves, and truth, without alloy !
The Master calleth ; and, thy work, well done,
Enter thy joy.

"To such as thee, belong
The harmonies, in which all Heaven unite ;
To share the 'inexpressive nuptial song,'
And walk, in white.

"And, oh ! thy Church, thy home,
Thy widowed home ! Who shall forbid to grieve ?
How may they bear the desolating gloom,
Such partings leave !

"Great Shepherd of the flock !
Even Thou, whose life was given, for the sheep ;
Sustain them, in the overwhelming shock,
And safely keep !"

Though years must first pass by, no time
His purpose shall derange ;
And, in His guardianship, thy soul
Shall suffer no 'sea-change :'
And, when the depths give back their charge,
O, may our welcome be,
With thine, among Christ's ransomed throngs,
Where there is no more sea !

* The Rev. Dr. Wells' Report.

Three words, beloved, and I am done. His "home," his "widowed home;" will you leave that, un comforted? His work, his glorious work; will you leave that, to falter? His teaching, his example, the beauty of his saintly life, the perfect beauty of his glorious and triumphant death: shall they be lost, upon your hearts; shall they be lost, upon your lives?*

* Nothing could exceed the solemnity and impressiveness of all the arrangements, after his death. Hundreds visited the remains; most of them, of the poor, for whom he lived. The Church was filled with mourners; the Bishop of the Diocese, with the Assistant Bishop of Connecticut, and above sixty of the Clergy, being present. The following admirable resolution, well express the feelings of the Vestry and Parishioners.

Parish of the Advent, Boston:

Sunday, the 22d, after Trinity, A. D. 1851.

At a meeting of the *Wardens and Vestry*, holden at the Church immediately after evening service, the committee appointed to proceed to New Haven in company with the body of the late Rector of this Parish—the Reverend WILLIAM CROSWELL, D. D.—and to attend to its interment at that place, *reported*, that they had discharged the duty assigned them; the body having been buried at 11 o'clock, on the morning of the 13th of November, at the New Haven Cemetery, "*deep in the ground*," in accordance with the wishes of the deceased. The following resolution was thereupon adopted by a unanimous vote, and entered at large upon the record.

Resolved, That now, for the first time, when the last rites have been paid to the mortal remains of our beloved Rector, we will strive for a moment to control our grief, and to give expression, in some feeble degree, to what *no words can measurably express*.

Although it does not become us to sorrow as others which have no hope, yet we cannot behold the desolation of our House of Prayer, and remember the affliction which weighs upon the family of our beloved Rector, without offering to them the testimony of our sympathy and condolence.

We, therefore, the Church and Congregation whom he served, are ready to bear witness concerning our brother, appointed to the Priesthood, over us:

That he duly exercised his Ministry to the honor of GOD and the edifying of HIS Church:

That he considered well with himself the end of his Ministry towards the children of GOD, towards the Spouse and Body of CHRIST:

That he never ceased his labors, his care and diligence, but did all that lay in him to bring all such as were committed to his charge unto

Oh, for the testimony, if they are, that he will bear, against you, when you stand, with him, before the Judge. Oh, for the blessedness and glory, if you bear the cross of Jesus Christ, as he did, and conquer with him, in that sign, which shall be yours, when you shall enter, with him, the celestial fold; and be, with him, for ever, with the Lamb!

an agreement in the FAITH and knowledge of GOD, and to ripeness and perfectness of age in CHRIST:

That he was a faithful dispenser of the Word of GOD, and of HIS Holy Sacraments:

That without preferring one before another, and doing nothing by partiality, he did not shun to declare unto all, high and low, rich and poor, one with another, *the whole counsel of GOD*; warning us that, without exemption or dispensation, we must obey *both the greatest and the very least* of the Holy Commandments of JESUS CHRIST.

And now since we, among whom he had gone preaching the Kingdom of GOD, shall see his face on earth no more, we take record that he is *pure from the blood of all men*.

We remember that by the space of seven years he ceased not to warn every one, morning and evening, with his prayers, taking heed unto himself and to all the flock over which the HOLY GHOST had made him Overseer, feeding the Church of GOD, which He hath purchased with HIS own Blood.

And while we sorrow most of all for the words which we *must* speak—"we shall see his face no more"—we are consoled by the remembrance, that *when his LORD came he was found watching; as one that waiteth for his LORD; his loins girded about with priestly robes, and the spiritual lights of his Ministration burning*; and we therefore call upon his family to bow with us in humble resignation to the mysterious Will of GOD, and with us to—

BLESS HIS HOLY NAME for all HIS servants departed this life in HIS faith and fear; beseeching HIM to give us Grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of HIS heavenly Kingdom. Grant this, O Father, for JESUS CHRIST, His sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. AMEN!

Resolutions were also adopted, by the Clergy, assembled at the house of the Bishop, he himself presiding: and by the Vestry of Christ Church.

WILLIAM CROSWELL; POET, PASTOR, PRIEST:

ENTERED INTO LIFE, SUNDAY, 9TH NOVEMBER, (TWENTY-FIRST AFTER
TRINITY,) MDCCCL.

I did not think to number thee, my Croswell, with the dead ;*
But, counted on thy loving lips, to soothe my dying bed :
To watch the fluttering flood of life, ebb, languidly, away,
And point my spirit, to the gate, that opens into day.

My more than brother, thou hast been, for five and twenty years,
In storm and shine, in grief and joy, in smiles, alike, and tears :
Our twin-born hearts so perfectly incorporate, in one,
That, not the shadow of a thought e'er marred their unison.

Beside me, in life's highest noon to hear the bridegroom's voice,
Thy loving nature fondly stood, contented to rejoice :
Nor boon, that ever bounteous heaven bestowed, on me, or mine,
But bore, for thee, a keener joy, than if it had been thine.

Thy fingers, at the sacred Font, when God my hearth had blessed,
Upon my first-born's brow, the dear baptismal sign impressed :
My second-born, thine own, in Christ, our loving names to blend ;
And, knit, for life, his father's son, in, with his father's friend.

And, when our patriarchal WHITE, with apostolic hands,
Committed, to my trembling trust, the Saviour's dread commands,
Thy manly form† and saintly face were, at my side, again ;
Thy voice, a trumpet to my heart, in its sincere *Amen*.

Beside thee, once again, be mine, accepted Priest, to stand ;
And take, with thee, the pastoral palm, from that dear Shepherd's
hand :
As thou hast followed Him, be mine, in love, to follow Thee :
Nor care, how soon my course be run, so thine, my rest, may be.

* The Friday before was his forty-seventh birth-day.

† "In person, Dr. Croswell was a very pattern of manly beauty."—*Boston Evening Traveller*.

Oh, beautiful and glorious death, with all thine armor on ;*
 While, Stephen-like, thy placid face, out, like an angel's, shone :†
 The words of blessing,‡ on thy lips, had scarcely ceased to sound,
 Before thy gentle soul, with them, its resting place had found.

Oh, pastoral and priestly death ; poetic, as thy life :
 A little child to shelter, in Christ's fold, from sin and strife ;§
 Then, by the gate, that opens, through the Cross, for such as she,||
 To enter in, thyself, with Christ, forevermore, to be !

* The Epistle for the day contained St. Paul's graphic description of "the whole armor of God." His last words in giving out the Hymn, were,

"Soldiers of Christ, arise,
 And put your armor on."

† "He never looked so heavenly. His smile upon the infant, was ineffable in sweetness."—*MS. Letter.*

‡ Unable to rise, after the closing Collect, he said the Benediction, on his knees. He died, in two hours. A blood-vessel was ruptured, in his brain.

§ He had just baptized an infant ; and his Sermon was addressed to children.

|| "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not ; for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

HUMPHREY'S HISTORY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY.*

3. The Society advise their Missionaries not to decline any fair opportunity of preaching to any number of people as may be occasionally met together from remote and distant parts, though it may not be on a Sunday or Holyday. That the chief subjects of their sermons should be the fundamental Doctrines of Christianity, and the duties of a sober, righteous, and godly life, as resulting from such doctrines. That they should carefully instruct the people concerning the nature and use of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as being the peculiar institutions of Christ, pledges of communion with him, and means instituted of deriving Grace from Him: that they should duly consider the qualifications of such grown persons to whom they shall administer Baptism, as also of those whom they admit to the Lord's Supper, according to the directions of the rubric in our Liturgy: that they take a special care to lay a good foundation for all their other ministrations, by catechising those under their care, whether children or other ignorant persons, and explain the Catechism to them in the most familiar manner: that they should be diligent to show to Heathens and Infidels, the necessity of a revelation, and the truth of the Christian, contained in the Holy Scriptures. *Lastly*, The Society direct their Missionaries to visit frequently their parishioners; and if their Parishes are of a large extent, that they should, at convenient opportunities, officiate in different parts of them, that so all the inhabitants, by turns, might more commodiously partake of their ministrations.

4. These are the instructions more peculiarly relating to their parochial care. With regard to the Corporation, the Missionaries are required to keep a constant correspondence with the Society by their Secretary; and to send over every six months, an account of the state of their respective Parishes; that so the Corporation may, from time to time, see the progress they make in the good work; and if any difficulties should arise, consider how they may apply proper remedies.

5. After mentioning the more peculiar rules the Society give their Missionaries for guiding their own conduct, it will not be unseasonable to intimate a particular or two, done by the Society, for the encouragement of their Missionaries, upon their engaging to go abroad. They advance them half a year's salary upon their setting out, and in case of mortality, pay their executors or assigns half a year's salary more. If the Society should think it necessary to dismiss any Missionary, provided it be not on account of any misdemeanor, they allow him a year's salary after his dismissal is agreed on at the Board. They allow also every Missionary at his going abroad, ten pounds worth of books for a Library, if there is not such a Library already settled in the place to which he is appointed. They also write with him, a letter of recommendation to the Governor of the Colony, and to the people of the Par-

* Continued from p. 464.

ish where he goes, to intreat the Governor's favor and protection, and to bespeak the people's respect and kindness to him; and allow him five pounds worth of small Tracts, to distribute among the poorer people, as he shall judge most convenient. *Lastly*, When their Missionaries have been pressed with very distressing circumstances, on occasion of any public calamity, as war with the Indians, or the like, they have presented them with very considerable gratuities, beyond their salaries, for their due support; nay, when some of their Missionaries, who have behaved themselves worthily, died, and left wife or children quite unprovided for, the Society have also made handsome presents to the widows or orphans.

6. Having thus given a description of the religious state of the Colonies, and briefly mentioned some of the principal rules of the Society, in the choice of their Missionaries; it follows in the next place, to lay before the reader an account of the labors and success of the Missionaries in the several Colonies where they were sent.

7. But here it must be observed to the reader, that the Society, before they proceeded to appoint Missionaries to particular places, resolved to send a traveling Missionary or preacher, who should travel over, and preach in the several Governments on the Continent of the British America; by which means they hoped they should awaken the people into a sense of the duties of religion. For this purpose they sent the Rev. Mr. George Keith, who had formerly resided in Pennsylvania, an itinerant Missionary through the Continent of the British North America, with an allowance of £200 a year. He set sail from England on the 24th of April, in 1702, and arrived at Boston, in New England, on the 11th of June following. He performed his mission in two years, and returned to England, and published a full account of his labors there, of which I shall give the reader here a very short summary.

He traveled over, and preached in all the Governments and Dominions belonging to the Crown of England, betwixt North Carolina and Piscataway River in New England inclusively, being ten distinct Governments; and extending in length above 800 miles. During the whole time of his mission, he was very assiduous; he preached commonly twice on Sundays, besides on week-days, and the sermons were properly adapted to the hearers, before whom they were delivered. He had generally good success where he preached, the people in many places, were well disposed for receiving of the Gospel, and seemed to hear the word with great reverence, humility and zeal: they joined with him devoutly in the Liturgy, and all public prayers, and the administration of the Sacrament, and earnestly desired him to present their requests to the Society, to have Ministers sent among them. But he was especially successful in his preaching, and private and public conferences, in several places in Pennsylvania, the two Jerseys, Oyster-Bay in Long Island, and at New York, where he labored most, and continued the longest time. In the two first of these places a great number of separatist Quakers or Keithians, who had separated from the body of Quakers in the years 1691 and 1692, had quite relinquished

Quaker principles, and joined themselves to the Church of England members at Philadelphia; where the Rev. Mr. Evans, who had been sent thither by the Bishop of London, had now a very numerous congregation. These people, when they saw Mr. Keith, who had been the chief instrument and occasion of their forsaking the Quaker errors, coming again among them, and in the character of a Minister of the Church of England, they expressed great joy and satisfaction to hear him preach what tended to their farther confirmation in the Christian faith. Mr. Evans, the Minister of Philadelphia, acquainted him, he had baptized above five hundred men, women, and children, Quakers, in Pennsylvania and West Jersey. And Mr. Keith, during his continuance in those parts, together with the Rev. Mr. Talbot, who accompanied him as his associate in his labors, baptized at least two hundred in Pennsylvania, and West and East Jersey, New York, and in some places on Long Island, especially Oyster-Bay.

The Rev. Mr. John Talbot happened to be Chaplain to the Ship, the *Centurion*, in which Mr. Keith went over to America, together with Gov. Dudley and Col. Morris; and being very much affected with the good undertaking which Mr. Keith was engaged to carry on, he offered to go with him as his associate in his travels, and was accepted; several persons of worth transmitted to the Society a fair character of him, upon which he was supported with a salary, and Mr. Keith acquainted the Society, that he was very useful to him in his labors, very diligent and very zealous in discharging all the Ministerial duties.

There were now settled in Pennsylvania three Church of England congregations, which had convenient Churches at Philadelphia, Chester, and Oxford. The Rev. Mr. Evans, Minister of Philadelphia, preached occasionally at Chester, and the Rev. Mr. Rudman, a Swedish Missionary, officiated at Oxford. At Philadelphia, they had public prayers not only on Sundays, but also on Wednesdays and Fridays, and by a mean computation there was an audience of five hundred persons from the town and country near Philadelphia, and more on great Festivals. At the Church at Chester, there assembled commonly two hundred persons, and at Oxford above one hundred and fifty. These Churches are within thirty miles distance of each other, and were frequented by a considerable number of late converts to the Church from Quakerism, and were persons of good note for their Christian conversation, devotion and zeal. There did usually assemble between two and three hundred persons, at Burlington in West Jersey, about twenty miles distant from Philadelphia, lying on the North side of Delaware river. Mr. Keith and Mr. Talbot labored much among them, and with good success; the congregation which assembled there, became a religious people, and well affected to the Church of England, though formerly the greater part of them were a loose sort of persons, regardless of all religion. Several of these desired baptism, and had also their children baptized by Mr. Keith and Mr. Talbot, or by Mr. Evans before their arrival, and had lately built a Church, and called it St. Ann's.

Mr. Keith labored also much among the other sort of Quakers called

Foxians, went to their meetings, and offered with all manner of good friendship to speak there, in ten several places; at three in New England, at one in Rhode Island, at Flushing in Long Island, at Shrewsbury in East Jersey, at Burlington in West Jersey, at Philadelphia, at Oxford in Pennsylvania, and at Herring-Creek in Maryland; but he found them obstinately attached to their own notions, and instead of showing any expressions of kindness, used much reviling language towards him.

In divers parts of New England, he found not only many people well affected to the Church, who had no Church of England ministers, but also several New England ministers desirous of Episcopal Ordination, and ready to embrace the Church-worship. Some of whom both hospitably entertained Mr. Keith and Mr. Talbot in their houses, and requested them to preach in their congregations, which they did, and received great thanks both from the ministers and from the people.

Mr. Keith, during his abode in these countries, printed also several sermons and tracts, in answer to books of Quakers and others, which were generally approved of, and seemed to have been very useful towards removing some prejudices against the Church of England.

Mr. Keith, in the conclusion of his narrative, represented to the Society, the want of a great number of ministers for a people dispersed over such large countries; and assured them that several congregations in many towns, had engaged him to present their humble requests to the Society, to send ministers to them. The chief of these were Amboy, Shrewsbury, Freehold and Elizabethtown in East Jersey, Maidenhead and Cohansy in West Jersey; Narragansett, Swansey, Little-Compton, or Seconet in New England; Rhode Island and Shrewsbury, by Chester River in Maryland; and Newcastle by Delaware River in Pennsylvania, where they were building a Church when he came away. And lastly, the people of Princess Ann's County, in the south parts of Virginia, which is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and had not one minister; though there were a great many people zealously disposed to the Church of England worship.

8. This is the sum of Mr. Keith's narrative; and from this, and the former accounts transmitted by many other hands, the Society thought they had sufficient light given them where to send Missionaries, which they proceeded to do, as from the following sections will appear.

CHAPTER V.

Missionaries sent to South Carolina: The places to which they were appointed; their labors and success: A War raised by the Yammo-sees and other Indians, against the English: The tranquillity of this Province happily restored: Thirteen Churches and four Chapels of Ease built: Salaries settled on the Clergy: Schools opened.

THE Province of South Carolina showed so earnest a desire of having Ministers of the Church of England, upon the first information they

received of this Corporation being erected, that the Society resolved very early to send Missionaries to this Colony, that so good a disposition of the people might be assisted as soon as possible. Accordingly in June, 1702, the Reverend Mr. Samuel Thomas was sent thither. The Society designed he should have first attempted the conversion of the Yammossee Indians, but the Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, and several other gentlemen there judging it not to be a proper season to enter upon this work, he did not engage in that mission; but after some small continuance in the Governor's family, he was appointed by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, to the cure of the people settled on the three branches of Cooper River, fifteen miles distant from each other; but to make Goos creek the chief place of his residence. Goos creek was one of the largest and most populous country towns, and settled by English families entirely well affected to the Church of England, and who formerly had for some time the Reverend Mr. Corbin for their Minister. The Parish is twenty miles in length, and from eight to fourteen in breadth; Mr. Thomas discharged his ministerial office with very good success; he acquainted the Society, that though his communicants at first were but five, they soon increased to thirty-two; that he had taken much pains also in instructing the negroes, and learned twenty of them to read. But in October, 1706, this worthy missionary died, (as several gentlemen of the country wrote word,) very much lamented for his sound doctrine, exemplary life, and industry; after having laid a good foundation for his successors to carry on the work he had begun.

The Society appointed the Reverend Dr. Le Jeau to succeed him. Upon his arrival in the country in 1706, he acquainted them, he had met with an extraordinary kind reception from his Excellency the Governor and the Chief Justice, and had received many tokens of great civility and goodness from several worthy persons. The people were then very busy in providing all materials for fitting up the Church and Parsonage House, which they soon after completed. He transmitted to the Society an account of the state of his Parish and other neighboring settlements, wherein he represented very earnestly, that it was the greatest pity imaginable, to see how many various opinions had been spread there, by a multitude of teachers and expounders of all sorts and persuasions; and yet he could find very few, that understood Christianity, even as to the essential parts of it; yet the parents and masters were endued with much good will, and a ready disposition, to have their children and servants taught the Christian Religion. He was not only very diligent in his proper cure at Goos creek, but also assisted in other places, where a Minister was wanting; the Church at Charlestown, being some time after his arrival vacant, he used to preach once a month there, where at Easter he had but twenty-four communicants, though there were above five hundred persons of age in the place. He sometimes visited the French settlement in Orange quarter, then entirely destitute of a Minister, and administered the Sacraments among them. This settlement consisted then of about thirty-two families, out of which there were fifty persons communicants. His own Parish had

about one hundred families, making up one thousand persons, much the greater number of which were members of the Church of England. He performed all parts of his ministerial duty with great diligence. The first year of his mission, he baptized twenty-one children, the second nineteen, and the number of the communicants increased to thirty-five. He instructed and baptized many negroes and Indian slaves; and whereas he found several parents had neglected to have their children baptized, because they paid some duties to the Minister, he acquainted them he desired nothing, and prevailed upon a considerable number of them to bring their children for Baptism; and by his private as well as public discourses, persuaded several persons of a grown age, to attend him to be instructed in the essential doctrines of Christianity, in order for receiving Baptism. He used frequently on week days to catechize the younger people at his house, as finding nothing conduced more towards promoting the Gospel, than this private instruction of the youth. The Doctor was not only very laborious in his function, but by God's blessing very successful, and happy in gaining the affections of his people. Soon after his being fixed among them, they made a voluntary subscription of £60 a year Carolina money for him. The Church they first built became too small for the growing number of his parishioners, and they erected a beautiful brick edifice. A Parsonage House was built by some public benefactions, which happening to be sometime after unfortunately destroyed by fire (all but the brick-work) the charitable country bestowed a very considerable sum for its repair. Captain Schencklingh, a worthy gentleman of the Parish, gave one hundred acres of good glebe land to the Church forever. The Doctor, after this, acquainted the Society, that his parishioners were much improved, and become of a very sober, civil, and edifying behavior, and that he had a full and constant appearance at Church; though there remained some few atheistical persons and scoffers at all revelation. His congregation grew still more numerous, the communicants increased, and in 1714, they arose to seventy English, and eight negroes. In the year 1717, Dr. Le Jeau died; very much lamented by his own parishioners, and regretted by every one, who knew how useful and industrious he had been in promoting the Gospel in those parts. In the year 1720, the Society sent the Reverend Mr. Merry a missionary into Carolina, and the Church of Gooscreek being then vacant, the parishioners requested him to come and reside among them, which he did for some time, but stayed not long, and returned again to England. The Society, upon the request of the inhabitants of Gooscreek, soon after appointed another missionary, the Reverend Mr. Ludlam; he arrived there in the year 1724, and began his mission with great diligence. There were in his Parish a large number of negroes, natives of the place, who understood English well. He took good pains to instruct several of these in the principles of the Christian religion, and afterwards admitted them to baptism. He said if the masters of them would heartily concur to forward so good a work, all those who have been born in the country, might without much difficulty be instructed

and received into the Church. Mr. Ludlam continued his labors among the negroes, and every year taught and baptized several of them; in one year, eleven, besides some mulattoes. The English of his Parish were a very sober and well-behaved people, and duly attended divine worship. Some few, who had been of looser principles, and negligent of the ordinances of the Gospel, were persuaded to a due conformity to the Church, and several grown persons received baptism. The people continued regularly to bring their children to baptism, and devoutly frequented the Sacrament. Mr. Ludlam persevered in a diligent discharge of all the duties of his functions; but in October, 1728, he died; and in testimony of his regard to the Society's good designs, and his respect to the people of his Parish, bequeathed by his last will, all his estate, real and personal, to the Society in trust, *for erecting and maintaining a School for the instruction of poor children of that Parish*. His whole estate is computed to amount to about £2,000 Carolina money, after payment of his debts.

2. The Society sent the Reverend Mr. Maule, missionary to Carolina, in 1707; he arrived there the same year; he was not appointed to any particular place, but it was left to the Governor and Council to fix him where they should judge he could be most useful. Upon his arrival there, he met with a very favorable reception at Charlestown, from the Governor and other gentlemen of the Province. He was soon after fixed in St. John's Parish, on the western branch of Cooper river; it is a pleasant and healthful part of the country, and the planters there were generally good, sober, and teachable people; but settled at a great distance from each other, in scattered plantations. He was the first Clergyman of the Church of England, that resided there for any considerable time. Upon his preaching at his first coming, to a good number of Churchmen, he had several Independents and Anabaptists who came to hear him, and behaved themselves very devoutly and attentively, during the whole time of divine service. He took a great deal of pains in the discharge of his duty, and upon account of the distance between the settlements, was obliged to ride very often, which was exceeding fatiguing, (especially during the sultry season in that country,) as well as expensive to him. The good people were sensible of this difficulty he underwent in traveling, and to ease him as much as they could, did, without his knowledge, raise among themselves twenty-five pounds Carolina money, and bought a horse, and other accoutrements, and made him a present of them. Upon his first settling here, the English had no Church to perform divine worship in, but about ten French families had built them a small Church, and their Minister, Mr. Tuilliar offered Mr. Maule the use of his Church, which he accepted, and preached often there; and such of the French as understood English, came to hear him. At other times, he preached up and down among the plantations, as the houses lay most convenient for the people to meet at. In the year 1706, an act of assembly had passed there for building eight churches in eight Parishes, and three

hundred and thirty-three pounds Carolina money was allotted for each. At length, about the year 1710, the English began to build a Church, and this sum was expended now in building one in St. John's Parish. All the outside was not finished till 1711. However, Mr. Maule resolved to begin to make use of it, though there was no conveniency of seats or pulpit, or other furniture. Soon after Colonel Broughton, a worthy gentleman and serious Christian, coming to reside in that Parish, he very generously adorned the Church, made a Communion Table, railed in the Chancel, made a Pulpit, Reading desk, and some Pews; all with cedar.

This good man's labors were attended with success; the people regularly came to divine service, and many frequented the Sacrament; and the whole body of them were influenced to lead more orderly and Christian lives. Among other causes of their religious improvement he mentions, that the books which the Society distributed among the people, by their missionaries, had a very good effect; and proved very instrumental in removing a great many prejudices out of the minds of some, and in making the whole people in general, more inquisitive about their spiritual concernment. Particularly, the Common Prayer Books which he had dispersed among the people, had influenced many to come to Church; and Dr. Beveridge's sermon of the excellency and usefulness of the Common Prayer, which he distributed with the Common Prayer Books, was of great service.

Thus he continued diligent in all parts of his duty, till the fatal Indian War broke out, in the year 1715, at which time all his parishioners were driven from their plantations. In this calamity he did not forsake them, but retired with them to a garrison, whither they fled for safety; and continued for above four months to perform all the offices of his function. He baptized their children, visited their sick and wounded, and buried their dead, preached every Lord's day, and read prayers twice every day in the week. The duty was much above his strength, especially as performed in a numerous crowd, confined in a small compass of ground, and in very sultry weather too. However he underwent it with cheerfulness. "Considering (as he expresses himself) that having hitherto lived among them in their prosperity, I could not, in conscience, desert them in times of danger and distress, that so I might learn them by example as well as doctrine, to submit with cheerfulness to the Will of God." Thus he persevered till the War grew less dangerous, and the people returned to their plantations. But this fatigue threw him into a bloody flux, through which, after many relapses, he died, very much lamented by all the country; and to express his hearty wishes to the Society's designs, he made them, by his last will, residuary legatees, from which they received above six hundred pounds Carolina money.

The Reverend Mr. Moses Clerk was appointed by the Society to succeed Mr. Maule: he arrived in Carolina in 1720, but a few months after, died. The Church-wardens and Vestry petitioned the Society for another missionary, and the Reverend Mr. Bryan Hunt was sent over,

out he was not successful in his mission: his contentious behavior gave great offence to many of the parishioners; and in the year 1728, after many differences and contests, he left his Parish, and returned to England. The Society immediately after, in the year 1729, appointed the Reverend Mr. Daniel Dwight, missionary to this Parish.

3. The Society received requests from the people of St. Bartholomew's Parish for a missionary, and the Reverend Mr. Osborn was sent thither. He arrived in 1713, and was the first Minister of the Church of England, that had settled there. His cure proved very difficult, for the Parish was above thirty miles long from north to south, and forty from east to west; there were about one hundred and twenty families in it, at his first coming; the people were spread at great distances, in scattered plantations, over all this large tract of land; which made the fatigue and labor of serving his cure very great. He was obliged, for the people's conveniency, to officiate at five different places, some of them twenty miles distant from the place of his abode. He acquainted the Society, the people were very ready to be taught and instructed in the Christian faith, that soon after his being fixed among them, he had baptized above seventy, many of them grown persons; at first they had some scruples about receiving the Sacrament, but he began to remove them by private conferences. He continued very diligent in his duty, and was much respected by his parishioners. But in the year 1715, the unhappy Indian War broke out; the savages destroyed all the plantations in his Parish, and also those of St. Helen's in Port Royal Island. The people abandoned the place entirely; their houses and plantations were spoiled and burnt. The Indians made so sudden an irruption into these parts, that they were within less than three miles of Mr. Osborn's house, before they were discovered; he just had notice to make a difficult escape to Charlestown, abandoning all that he had to the savages; where soon after he died, with the general character of an honest and useful man. This Parish hath not yet recovered from the ravages of the Indians, many of the people did not return to their settlements; the Society therefore have not fixed a missionary here; but some of the Ministers of other Parishes have occasionally officiated among those who returned to their Plantations.

4. The Parish of St. Helen's in Port Royal Island, agreed in the year 1712, to have a Minister resident among them. They were acquainted with, and had a good esteem for the Reverend Mr. Guy, then assistant to the Reverend Mr. Johnson, the Rector of Charlestown; they proceeded to elect him for their Minister, according to the Laws of this Province; after having first obtained the consent of the Reverend Mr. Johnson, the Bishop of London's Commissary, then at Charlestown. Presently after, they wrote to the Bishop of London, and to the Society, an account of this election. They represented in their letters, that they were the most remote Parish in the country, and not well settled as yet; that since their first fixing there, they never had a Minister resident; and therefore prayed the Society, in compassion to their great wants, to allow Mr. Guy a salary. Mr. Guy was then in Deacon's Orders only; he returned to

England in the year 1713, and received Priest's Orders; and the Society appointed him missionary there. He arrived in Carolina soon after, and acquainted the Society, that he had entered upon his cure. This Parish was very large and extensive, for the whole nation of the Yammossee Indians was included in it. Mr. Guy was very diligent in the discharge of all parts of his ministerial office; he instructed and baptized several grown persons, besides the younger children. Though there had been formerly some Anabaptist and Presbyterian teachers here, yet at his arrival, the people had no teacher of any persuasion, and lived all without using any kind of public divine worship. Notwithstanding which, they were very well disposed; and for their greater conveniency, Mr. Guy performed divine service in some of the parishioners' houses, sometimes in one part of the Parish, sometimes in another, that all the people, at times, might have an opportunity of coming to divine worship. Mr. Guy wrote to the Society, that he met with many favors from his parishioners, and that they behaved, both publicly and privately, very obligingly and kindly to him. But in the year 1715, both he and all his Parish, narrowly and very providentially escaped; being cut off by the Indians. The Yammossees inhabiting part of that Parish, rose suddenly and fell on the English; if there had not been a ship lying in the river, on board of which, the English got, and so escaped to Charlestown, they would have been all utterly destroyed by the savages. Some few who did not make a timely escape on board, fell into the Indians, hands, and were massacred.

5. Having mentioned before, this Indian war, and since I shall be obliged to take notice of it again, as a calamity, which not only very much stopped the progress of the Gospel in those parts, but very greatly threatened the civil state of that country, I shall give the reader here some short account of it. In the year 1715, the Indians adjoining to this colony, all round from the borders of Fort St. Augustine to Cape Fear, had formed a conspiracy to extirpate the white people. This war broke out the week before Easter. The Parish of St. Helen's had some apprehensions of a rising among the adjoining Indians, called the Yammossees. On Wednesday before Easter, Captain Nairn, Agent among the Indians, went, with some others, to them, desiring to know the reason of their uneasiness, that if any injury had been done them, they might have satisfaction made them. The Indians pretended to be well content, and not to have any designs against the English; Mr. Nairn therefore and the other traders continued in the Pocotaligat town, one of the chief of the Yammossee nations. At night they went to sleep in the Round-house, with the King and chief war-captains, in seeming perfect friendship; but next morning, at break of day, they were all killed with a volley of shot, excepting one man and a boy, who providentially escaped (the man much wounded) to Fort-Royal, and gave notice of the rising of the Indians to the inhabitants of St. Helen's. Upon this short warning, a ship happening to be in the river, a great number of the inhabitants, about three hundred souls, made their escape on board her to Charlestown, and among the rest, Mr. Guy, the

Society's missionary; having abandoned all their effects to the savages: some few families fell into their hands, who were barbarously tortured and murdered.

The Indians had divided themselves into two parties; one fell upon Port-Royal, the other upon St. Bartholomew's Parish; about one hundred Christians fell into their hands, the rest fled, among which, the Rev. Mr. Osborn, the Society's Missionary there. The women and children, with some of the best of their effects, were conveyed to Charlestown; most of the houses and heavy goods in the Parish were burnt or spoiled. The Yammoeses gave the first stroke in this war, but were presently joined by the Appellachee Indians. On the north side of the Province, the English had at first some hopes in the faithfulness of the Calabaws and Creek Indians, but they soon after declared for the Yammoeses.

Upon news of this rising, the Governor, (the Hon. Charles Craven, Esq.,) with all expedition, raised the forces in Colleton County, and with what assistance more could be got presently, put himself at their head, and marched directly to the Indians, and the week after Easter came up with them, and attacked them at the head of the River Cambahee; and after a sharp engagement put them to flight, and stopped all farther incursions on that side.

In the meantime, on the other Northern side, the savages made an inroad as far as a plantation of Mr. John Herne, distant 30 miles from Gooscreek; and treacherously killed that gentleman, after he had (upon their pretending peace) presented them with provisions. Upon news of this disaster, a worthy gentleman, Capt. Thomas Barker, was sent thither with ninety men on horseback; but by the treachery of an Indian whom he trusted, fell into an ambuscade, in some thick woods, which they must necessarily pass. The Indians fired upon them from behind trees and bushes. The English dismounted, and attacked the savages, and repulsed them; but having lost their brave commanding officer, Mr. Barker, and being themselves in some disorder, made their retreat. Upon this advantage, the Indians came farther on towards Gooscreek, at news of which, the whole Parish of Gooscreek became deserted, except two fortified plantations; and the Rev. Dr. Le Jeau, the Society's Missionary there, fled to Charlestown.

These Northern Indians, being a body of near four hundred men, after attacking a small Fort in vain, made proposals of peace, which the garrison unwarily hearkening to, admitted several of them into the Fort, which they surprised and cut to pieces the garrison, consisting of seventy white people and forty blacks; a very few escaped. After this they advanced farther, but on the 13th of June, Mr. Chicken, the Captain of the Gooscreek Company, met and attacked them, and after a long action, defeated them, and secured the Province on that side from farther ravages.

The Society received these calamitous relations from Carolina with much concern, both on account of the distress of the inhabitants and of their Missionaries. They thought it incumbent on them to do

something towards the relief of the latter, who were sent by them to those places. Accordingly a letter was wrote to all the Missionaries, acquainting them, how sensible the Society was of the hardships they underwent, and that they had agreed to give half a year's salary to each of them as a gratuity, for their present assistance. That this bounty might be paid them with all speed, a letter was wrote by the same conveyance to Col. Rhet, a worthy gentleman in that country, desiring him, on the account of the Society, to pay each of their Missionaries and Schoolmasters half a year's salary; and in case the other Clergy of the Colony, who were not Missionaries, should be in great straits upon account of this public calamity, he should also pay each of them a sum not exceeding £30 sterling; which the Society presented them towards their support; and that he might draw upon their Treasurer for all sums paid. Col. Rhet was pleased very kindly, to pay all the Missionaries who applied to him, the money the Society had directed; and also to the Rev. Mr. Lapierre, and Mr. Richburg, two French Ministers, who were not employed by the Society, £30 each; they were both just preparing to quit the country, on account of their great want, but were prevented by so seasonable a relief through the Society's bounty.

6. Having given the reader this short relation of the Indian war, which brought so much confusion on the religious as well as civil state of this growing Colony, I shall now resume the first subject, and continue on the account of labors of the Missionaries in each Parish. The inhabitants of the Parish of St. Helen's, in Port-Royal Island, before mentioned, had been all drove from their settlements, by the Yammo-sees; but upon the suppressing of the Indian ravages, the people returned to their Plantations. They were encouraged to do so, the sooner, because Port-Royal Island had a very capacious and safe harbor, and was likely to become a place of great trade, as being a commodious station for shipping, and the country around, affording plenty of all provisions. Here are now computed to be above seventy families. They obtained a considerable sum of money from the Government there, towards building a Church, to which several worthy gentlemen added contributions, and in the year 1724, built a small Church, a neat brick building, in length, from the west end to the chancel, 40 feet, and in breadth, 30; the chancel is 10 feet square. The communion table, pulpit, desk, and some pews are made of cedar. There was a pressing occasion for having a Church here, because the inhabitants of this Parish live at a great distance from each other, and the nearest of them at least forty miles distant from any other Parish Church. The people, when they began to build their Church, requested the Society to send them a Missionary. The Rev. Mr. Lewis Jones was appointed hither in the year 1725. He hath behaved himself worthily in the discharge of all the duties of his mission, and instructed several grown persons in the Christian Faith, and admitted them to Baptism. He continues still here.

7. The Rev. Mr. Hasell was sent to the Parish of St. Thomas in 1709. He had been formerly employed by the Society, as Catechist in Charles-

town; which office he discharged with diligence. The first Church built here, (now used for a Chapel of Ease,) was called Pomkinhill Church, from a rising hill of that name, on which it was built; it is situated near the river side, made of cypress wood, thirty foot square, erected about the year 1703, at the charge of the neighborhood, and by the particular assistance of Sir Nathaniel Johnson. But the Parish Church of St. Thomas was built of brick, situated on a neck of land, on the northwest of Wandoe river, and southwest of Cooper river; in pursuance of an Act of Assembly made in 1706. The foundation of this Church was laid in 1707, and the building finished the next year; Mr. Hasell was the first Minister of this Church, elected by virtue of the above mentioned Act. There are in this Parish upwards of 600 acres of Glebe land, 200 of which adjoin to the Church; and 420 to the Chapel of Ease. There is as yet no Parsonage-house built in this Parish, but the money allowed by the Assembly for that use, is laid out at interest, till it shall arise to a sufficient sum to build one. There were, in the year 1713, about 120 families in this Parish, including the settlements in Orange quarter; but now the inhabitants are computed to amount to 565 whites, 950 negroes, 60 Indian slaves, and 20 free negroes, in all near sixteen hundred souls. Mr. Hasell had very good success in his ministry, and was respected and loved by his parishioners and a great many persons of unsettled principles were induced to hold a firm faith. A great many young persons, descended of dissenters of various tenets, conformed to the Church of England, and several young men of French parentage in Orange quarter, who understood English, constantly attended his Church. The books the Society sent to be distributed by him were of great use, especially the Common Prayer Books, given to the younger people of the French, and to dissenters' children. Mr. Hasell continues still in this mission, with a very advantageous character.

The District of Orange quarter is a French settlement, but in the first division of the country into Parishes, was part of St. Thomas' Parish; few of the people attended service in the English Church for want of the language. The major part of them usually met together in a small Church of their own, where they generally made a pretty full congregation, when they had a French Minister amongst them; they were poor, and unable to support their Minister, and made application to the Assembly of the Province, to be made a Parish, and to have some public allowance for a Minister Episcopally ordained, who should use the Liturgy of the Church of England, and preach to them in French. Accordingly, they were incorporated by the name of the Parish of St. Dennis, till such time as they should understand English. They have now a pretty good Church built about the time St. Thomas' was, and never had but one Minister, Mr. Lapierre.

8. In the year 1705, the Rev. Mr. Dun was sent to St. Paul's Parish, in Colleton County. A small but convenient brick Church was erected, about the year 1708, in length 35, in breadth 25 feet, situated on the head of Stono River, about twenty miles distant from Charlestown

to the southward. It is built on a piece of land given by Mr. Edmund Bellinger, a gentleman of that Parish; and a narrow piece of land near the Church, containing about seventy-one acres, was laid out for a Glebe. A little, but commodious dwelling house of brick, was built for the Minister, with an out-kitchen, and some necessary timber buildings; but this house, and the other out-buildings, were burnt in the Indian war. Mr. Dun wrote word that he found the common people very ignorant, and was obliged to stay some time to instruct them before he could properly administer the Sacraments. He did not continue long there, and Mr. Mateland succeeded him, about the year 1708, but died not long after. The Rev. Mr. William Tredwel Bull was appointed Missionary there in 1712. He demeaned himself with prudence and civility, and was so diligent in all parts of his pastoral care, that the Church considerably increased; and the flourishing condition of it at present is much owing to his labors. In the year 1721, the Vestry laid a petition before the General Assembly, setting forth, "That the number of the inhabitants and of the members of the Church of England was so much increased, that their Parish Church was too little for them, and that for want of room, some were forced to stand without the door, and others hang at the windows; and that having agreed among themselves upon the necessary enlargement, they found it would cost considerably more than £1000, when completed, with such decency as becomes the house of God: that they were willing to contribute to their utmost, though many of them had been great sufferers in the Indian war, and scarce able to build their own houses destroyed in that war." The General Assembly very generously allowed £500, and the people very liberally and cheerfully subscribed £1000 more, Carolina money; with which they made a very neat and regular additional building to their Church. Mr. Bull continued till the year 1723, very successful in the discharge of the duties of his function, and happy in having the love and esteem of his parishioners. He was obliged to return to England, on account of some family affairs, and having resolved to continue here, was, in consideration of his services to the Church abroad, promoted to a benefice here in England. In the year 1724, the Society sent the Rev. Mr. David Standish, Missionary to this Parish; he entered upon the duties of his function with diligence, and behaved himself so as to gain the esteem and love of his parishioners. His congregation increased, and several grown persons desired and received baptism. He extended his labors to other places, where there was no Minister; particularly in Edisto Island, where a large number of Churchmen and Anabaptists used to meet him. The people of his Parish made an additional building to their Church, and were so much satisfied with their Minister, that in the year 1727, they purchased a Glebe for him, of four hundred acres of land, joining to the Church, and very pleasantly situated on a large river, about twenty miles distant from Charlestown, with a house upon it, and some other necessary buildings; Mr. Standish continued diligent in all parts of his office, till the year 1728, in which he died.

(To be continued.)

ART. VII.—BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Paris. By LORD MAHON. Edited by Henry Reed, Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. In two Volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1849. 8vo. pp. 567, 589.

A notice of this work, though somewhat out of date, will not be quite out of place, if it may aid in making better known a publication of permanent value. English history from the time of the Revolution in 1688, down through a period of almost ninety years, presents few points of special importance to an American reader. The Reigns of the two Georges' especially, First and Second, covering nearly fifty years, are to us almost barren of immediate interest. And yet no one can understand our own Colonial history well, without a thorough knowledge of the practical workings of the English Government during that time. The administrations of Townshend, Walpole, Stanhope, Pitt, and Bute; the perpetual restlessness of the people; the secret machinations or the open hostilities of the Pretenders; the activity of the Jacobites; the rebellions of 1715 and 1745; the war of 1756, which finally involved all of Western Europe—all these had to do with that neglectful or mistaken policy, towards the American Colonies, which gradually prepared the way for their insurrection.

In the volumes before us, Lord Mahon evidently aims to write in a spirit of entire impartiality. Himself representing one branch of the noble house of Stanhope, a Tory in politics, and a Churchman in religion, he appears everywhere ambitious only as an honest and faithful chronicler of facts. Macaulay, Professor Smyth, Sismondi, the London Quarterly, and the Edinburgh, have alike conceded to him the merit of untiring industry in examining his authorities. He had free access to the most valuable MSS., as the Stuart, Stanhope, and Hardwicke papers. He is exceedingly minute in his statements, without being heavy and tedious; and his numerous references show that while not a single point concerning either men or measures escaped him, yet he examined every thing with a discriminating judgment.

As Churchmen, we assure our readers that they can never appreciate the disabilities under which the English Church is now struggling, without a clear insight into the details of that Government, which can now, to quell the mutterings of outraged orthodoxy, abrogate the legitimate and organic action of the Church; and now, appoint to her Bench of Bishops, men whose special qualification is an acquiescence in its own time-serving State policy.

The chapters on English Literature, and the rise of Methodism, are exceedingly valuable. Men whose names are already familiar, have also their portraits cleverly drawn; as Bolingbroke, Swift, Addison, Atterbury, Steele, Sacherell, Pitt, Fox, and others.

The Author's style is admirable for a historian, without being as philosophical as Hallam, or straining perpetually after epigrams and antitheses with Macaulay. The flow of the narrative is always easy and graceful; never rising into the eloquent, or descending into the tame and commonplace. Indeed, these two massive and well filled volumes are a store-house of historic lore, which the careful student will not fail to appreciate.

THE HISTORY OF THE RESTORATION OF MONARCHY IN FRANCE. By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE, Author of the "History of the Girondists." Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 530. New Haven: S. Babcock.

A glance at the map of Europe, will show that France was designed by Providence to play an important part in the world's history. Aside from her own nat-

ural resources, which afford all the elements of national greatness, she has, on one hand, the classic and oriental land of beauty and of fable; on another, the broad expanse inviting to commercial enterprise; on another, the hardy, indomitable spirit of her northern neighbors; and in the background, the presence of ambitious, restless spirits, whom she has had reason enough closely to watch. And yet what is the history of France but the history of a nation struggling with its own destiny? Says Lamartine, "I scarcely exceed the middle age of man, and I have already lived under ten dominations, or ten different governments in France. Between infancy and maturity, I have witnessed ten revolutions: the Constitutional Government of Louis XVI, the first Republic, the Directory, the Consulate, the Empire, the first Restoration in 1814, the Second Government of the "Hundred Days" by Napoleon, the Second Restoration in 1815, the Reign of Louis Philippe, and the Second Republic." Why France has chosen to exchange a magnificent drama for such a mere puppet show, why the moral of her story has been only a lesson of warning from her madness or her weakness, is a great question which she would do well to ponder, if Frenchmen ever ponder. The curse of popery has been, and is the secret of her shame. Lamartine in these volumes, describes France from the Fall of Napoleon to the Restoration of the Bourbons. It is said he has an object in this history, to break the charm of hero-worship which still lingers around the name of Napoleon, and to give a new impulse to the love of order, if not of legitimacy. If a descendant of the Bourbons were once more to appear upon the stage, he might, beyond doubt, enact a tragedy. Lamartine is a genuine Frenchman. He writes with great elegance and impassioned earnestness. It is of vast importance that the *American people* should become intimately acquainted with the genius and the History of the French nation, with whom we may be brought into new and delicate relations. Whether *intervention* or *non-intervention* in European politics is to be our national motto, our *people*, our only sovereigns, must study, and study carefully, European history. For this purpose, Lamartine's "Restoration of Monarchy" should be read. It will repay perusal.

THE LITERATURE AND THE LITERARY MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By ABRAHAM MILLS, A. M., Author of Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, etc. In two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 8vo. pp. 576, 598. New Haven: S. Babcock.

More than twenty years ago, Mr. Mills, of New York, delivered by invitation, a course of Lectures on English Literature. These lectures, he says, have since been annually repeated; and they are here at length given to the public in two large closely filled octavo volumes. His object is to furnish a brief account,—all that the general reader will care to know,—of every writer of any distinction from the times of the old Celtic Poet, Ossian, down to the close of the last century. His list includes about four hundred different authors. A brief biographical sketch is given of each, also some description of their most important works, their general characteristics, criticisms upon their style, &c. The difficulty of such a labor is apparent at a glance; the requisitions on the part of him who would attempt it, must be of no ordinary character. To hold the scales with just and equal balance, when such materials are to be weighed, requires at least some strength of nerve. Mr. Mills seems to have appreciated the magnitude of his task: he has availed himself of every accessible source of information; and he exhibits, everywhere, great industry, and a very careful judgment. It is just such a work as every literary person needs to have by him, even if he has at hand—as few have—*Chamber's Cyclopædia*, and the *Biographia Britannica*. It is one of the public benefits which such a work confers, that it rescues many a name, and many a sparkling gem from the oblivion, to which external and unpropitious circumstances, alone, have consigned them. However it may be in politics, the world of letters is a republic.

THE FIFTEEN DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE WORLD, FROM MARATHON TO WATERLOO.
By E. S. CREASY, M. A., Professor of Ancient and Modern History, in University College, London. New York: Harpers, 1851. pp. 364. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The leading idea illustrated in this work; of "those battles of which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes," was suggested by Hallam. The idea itself, however imposing and captivating, needs paring down. Life itself does not consist in any fifteen battles, or any fifteen men. The unwritten history of the world is its true history; just as the life of an individual is not to be measured, either in its duties or its results, by a few heroic achievements. Neither do we believe any considerable number of careful readers of history, would have selected as "the decisive battles of the world," just those fifteen which Prof. Creasy names. These are Marathon, Syracuse, Arbela, The Metaurus, Arminius' defeat of Varus, Chalons, Tours, Hastings, Orleans, The Spanish Armada, Blenheim, Pultowa, Saratoga, Valmy, and Waterloo.

Still, the book is a decidedly good one. It will awaken a deeper interest in the mighty past, of which a few land-marks are here set up. The writer shows familiarity with his subject; he sees clearly and describes graphically the great issues at stake; he knows how to be comprehensive without obscurity, and minute without sinking down into the mere annalist.

MOBY DICK; OR THE WHALE. By HERMAN MELVILLE, Author of "Typee," "Omoo," "Redburn," "Mardi," "White-Jacket." New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 635. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Those persons who believe in *laughing*, not the ceaseless school-girl titter, but the right-hearted, side-splitting explosion of genuine mirth, may be referred to "Moby-Dick." For certain complaints of the azure kind, and especially for a cold, north-easterly, sleety day, like that in which we write, this book and a plenty of anthracite may be prescribed. "Moby-Dick" is not an imaginary hero of the seas, by a great deal. Ask any old "Jack-tar," and he will meet you with as pitiable or indignant stare, as an old soldier would hear questioned the valor of the raw troops at Lexington. We remember, years ago, to have started the subject of "*Mocha-Dick*," (for that was the name then,) with an old "Whale-man," and at once the old soldier "shouldered his crutch to show how fields were won." "Moby-Dick," dear reader, is not a whale, by a great sight. He is *the* Whale, the very Napoleon of Whales. Indeed, Melville goes so far in this volume, as to discuss the question, not only of his ubiquity, but his immortality; and says it is reported that "though groves of spears should be planted in his flanks, he would still swim away unharmed." We submit to the Author, whether the diversity in the name to which we have alluded, does not bear upon this point, like the variety in spelling the name of Shakespeare, or the contention for the birthplace of Homer? On such a theme, Melville is in his element. His whole soul is rapt in his subject. In the true idolatry of a lover, the very mole upon his lady love's cheek is beautiful; and Melville writes a whole chapter upon Moby-Dick's *tail*. That Melville has genius, wit, mirth, a vigorous, imaginative style, great command of language, and uncommon power of description, is unquestionable. The book is not exactly a narrative. It abounds in episodes and marvels, of which Capt. Ahab is the great hero; whose enmity to Moby-Dick was a raging passion and cost him his life. Even some Whales of lesser note appear in the background of the picture, as "Timor Tom," and "New Zealand Jack;" great in their day, but small fish enough along side of "Moby-Dick." He is the presiding genius of the story; to whom the Author's pen turns as steadily as the needle to the pole.—We have heard Melville's orthodoxy questioned; and he is at times shockingly irreverent—without any great proof of wit—and repelling thereby some, whom he might, else, amuse. He is at least a believer in "Moby-Dick."

THE LILY AND THE BEE; an Apologue of the Crystal Palace. By Samuel Warren, F. R. S., Author of the *Diary of a Physician*, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 267. New Haven: S. Babcock.

No book, recently issued, has called forth criticism so diverse and contradictory as "The Lily and the Bee." Some have met it with unsparing ridicule; pronouncing it a jargon of absurd rhapsodies; with its perpetual dashes, and emphatic capitals, and disjointed fragments of sentences, and its words solemnly paraded with their exclamation points like a company of raw militia, and its mere prose broken up into poetry of irregular and lawless measure. Others, see in all this only the eccentricities of the rarest genius; declaring the book to be "a strain of mingled Thought and Imagination—and all Poetry; words flowing like spray from a fountain, yet every drop a diamond, as solid, as brilliant, as precious, as beautiful;" "calling up rich trains of historic associations,—lofty thoughts and generous feelings—graphic and glowing descriptions." Whether Mr. Warren has, or has not, passed the fatal step between the sublime and the ridiculous, will depend upon the mood and taste of the reader. None, however, will deny that the work evinces a mind, enriched with varied reading, thoroughly loyal, deeply thoughtful, truly devout, and overflowing with benevolence. For ourselves we think "The Lily and the Bee,"—appropriate symbols of Beauty and Industry,—will prove an enduring monument of the Great Exhibition.

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF SCOTLAND, by Agnes Strickland. Vol. 2. New York: Harpers, 1851. pp. 402. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The Queens of Scotland form an important element in that nation's history. This second volume continues and completes the memoir of Mary of Lorraine; and also gives the life of the Lady Margaret Douglass, Countess of Lennox. This history shows, as it proceeds, that it is from the pen of one who has the heart of a woman; and who sympathizes in the troubles, which, even to the last, chequered the unfortunate lives of the Subjects whom she describes. Her picture of Mary of Lorraine is drawn with great distinctness, and with a full appreciation of the delicacy of her position, from her birth, tastes, and religion, as well as the political strategy and the civil commotions with which her throne was surrounded. The work is written in an attractive style, and exhibits careful study of authorities.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, for the use of Schools and Academies. By J. Olney, A. M. New Haven: Durrie & Peck, 1851. Revised Edition. 12 mo. pp. 288.

In the style, artistic plan, and literary execution of this work it is admirable; and on these accounts it will sell, and be extensively used. But we do wish somebody would write a School History of the United States, which shall not teach Puritanism like Emerson, or Deism like Olney.

Three Sermons by Rev. Paul Trapier, preached in Charleston, S. C., 1847, 1848, 1849, on the religious instruction of Servants.

Two Pamphlets containing Articles from the "Southern Presbyterian Review," on the same subject.

A Sermon by Rev. J. H. Thornton, D. D., on the Rights and Duties of Masters: preached in Charleston, S. C., May 26, 1850.

Proceedings of Public Meetings in Charleston, S. C., in 1849, on the religious instruction of Slaves, &c.

This is an important collection of pamphlets. They satisfactorily prove the following facts. That a General Meeting of the citizens of Charleston, S. C. after a free discussion, and after eliciting a mass of information, from various parts of the entire South, *unanimously* passed the following proposition, "That the Religious Instruction of Slaves, combined with a prudent attention to the preservation of order, is a work highly acceptable, in a moral and religious view, and of great advantage to the Commonwealth."

These pamphlets also prove, that the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal

Church in South Carolina, has repeatedly and publicly enjoined upon the members of the Church the duty of instructing the Slaves in the Gospel of Christ.

These pamphlets also prove, that the various religious denominations in South Carolina, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Baptists, are extensively and efficiently prosecuting the same work. We are satisfied that, at the North, there is no just conception of the extent, and success, of the efforts made to Christianize the Slaves at the South. We have heard it affirmed, and have no reason to doubt it, that there are more professing Christians among African Slaves in the United States, than there are Converts to Christianity in all the Protestant Missions of Christendom. African Slavery in this country, is Paradise itself in comparison with the degrading *white* serfdom in the Factories and Collieries of Great Britain. British philanthropy may shed its crocodile-tears over her own down-trodden millions, whose miseries Parliament can any moment relieve.

SERMONS FOR THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. By the Rev. W. H. Lewis, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, L. I. New York: C. Shepard & Co. 1851. 8vo. pp. 445.

A large octavo volume of Sermons by a Clergyman of the American Church is something new. This is a kind of literature *sui generis*; and is not to be criticised by rules and principles applicable to other species of composition. One of the most distinguished of American preachers is known, in revival, to prune his Sermons of those merely rhetorical beauties, in which his vigorous imagination in composition, had indulged itself; as unsuited to the place and the object. The writer and preacher of the Sermons before us, has the reputation of one of the most useful of our Parish Ministers. For a long course of years, comparatively, he has occupied the same position; gathering together a large and respectable Congregation, and giving proof, in his parochial reports, that his labors have not been in vain in the Lord. These Sermons are worth examining, as a specimen of the kind of instruction to which such a parish has been accustomed. Their most marked features, are great simplicity of arrangement, and the directness and earnestness with which the preacher ever addresses himself to the spiritual wants of his hearers. The Sermons are sixty-six in number; covering a complete Christian Year. They embrace a great variety of subjects, and are all short. In style, they bear the appearance of having been written to be preached for the alone object of doing good. While many of the Sermons are written with great perspicuity and neatness, yet there is apparently no attempt at high rhetorical finish, or at that ponderous argumentation which pours upon us like an avalanche in Melville or Chalmers; or at that rigid psychological analysis, which was the secret power of Manning. There is almost nothing in them of doctrinal polemics; but everywhere is seen the preacher's great object, to reach the hearts and influence the lives of his hearers. The 29th Sermon, "Christ Risen, yet not ascended," is a clear recognition of the historical argument for the Church. The 19th Sermon, "Depravity of our hearts," is distinguished by the just moderation of its doctrinal statements. The 40th Sermon, "Living unto Christ," is a searching exposure of various forms of idolatry, contrasting them with the great end of life. The 37th Sermon, "Sanctifying ourselves for Christ's Service," a Convention Sermon in the Eastern Diocese in 1837, and published by request, is such an ideal of the Christian Minister, as the Author has evidently had constantly before him; and is a Sermon which every theological student would do well to read.

The circulation of these Sermons cannot but tend to promote, what the Church mainly needs, a living, earnest piety; the noblest end at which the Christian Minister's ambition can possibly aim.

LECTURES ON EPISCOPACY AND THE PAPAL SUPREMACY. By the Rev. William H. Hill, M. A., Rector of Zion Church, Morris, Otsego Co., New York. Utica, New York: H. H. Curtiss, 1851. 12mo. pp. 265.

Mr. Hill has presented the Episcopal argument, especially in its bearing on the Papacy, in a clear, succinct, and popular manner. The Chapter on the "Church of

England" is a brief, but satisfactory condensation of that important portion of history. The Episcopal controversy is by no means at an end; and such works as this need to be scattered far and near.

FOREST LIFE AND FOREST TREES: *Comprising Winter Camp-life among the Loggers, and Wild-wood Adventure.* With descriptions of Lumbering operations in the various Rivers of Maine and New Brunswick. By John S. Springer. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 259. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The life of a lumberman amid the forests, wild mountains, lakes, and rivers of Maine is full of adventure, and the writer of this volume, Mr. Springer, who has been familiar with such scenes for many years, has furnished a really entertaining work. His sketches of Forest trees, Forest life, and River life, abound in incidents; transporting the reader into a world, sometimes of romantic beauty, and sometimes of frightful peril. The volume also embodies valuable statistics of the lumber business; and contains descriptions of a country equally wild and unbroken, and yet even more unknown than the far off regions of the west.

The style of the work is simple and animated. The author knows how to tell a good story of a night in the woods, or an encounter with "bruin" and the wolves, or of river-driving; and the volume must prove universally attractive.

READINGS FOR EVERY DAY IN LENT. Compiled from the writings of Jeremy Taylor. By the Author of "Amy Herbert," &c. New York, 1851. 12mo. pp. 308.

The title of this volume, and the source whence its pages are filled, with the remark that the extracts seem to be carefully and judiciously made, are all that is necessary to commend it. For every day in Lent, there is a short chapter setting forth some important duty, or warning against some besetting sin, or containing some meditation, or exposition, each closing with a short Prayer; and all in the choice words of the Chrysostom of the modern Church. We hope it will be the closet companion of many an humble Saint in the approaching Lenten Season.

TEN SERMONS. With a Prefatory Letter, addressed to the Right Rev. Bishop McIlvaine. By the Rev. George Townshend Fox, M.A., of Durham. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1851. 8vo. pp. 192.

There is a tone to this book which is unfortunate. Aside from overstrained and unqualified doctrinal statements, the confidence and boldness with which it speaks should have been tempered with a spirit of meekness and love. If the Author aims to teach *Evangelical* doctrines, he certainly does it in a very *unevangelical* way. We are fully convinced that the inward piety of the heart, the deep devotion of the Soul to CHRIST, the swallowing up of the human in the Divine Will, is, under God, the real strength of the Church. But that heart which comprehends, least imperfectly, the "depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God" which "is in Christ Jesus our Lord," will breathe least the spirit of arrogance and bitterness. We have as little sympathy, as the Author can have, with what he aims to describe. But his Prefatory Letter, as well as portions of his Sermons, lead us to doubt whether he has any true conception of the real wants and present danger of the English Church.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL. D. By his Son-in-Law, the Rev. William Hanna, LL. D. Vol. 3. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 531. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This work, as it proceeds, presents Dr. Chalmers in a still more interesting light. It traces his professional labors at St. Andrews; his habits and studies as a scholar; his position in the Scotch General Assembly; his frequent visits and excursions; his invitation to the London University; his election to the Professorship of Divinity at Edinburgh; his composition of some of his most valuable publications; his opinions on important public measures; his intercourse with leading men of the

day, &c. His private Journal and his voluminous Correspondence give us a transparent view of his life. Dr. Chalmers was one of the great men of our times; and aside from the interest which attaches to his private character, his history is a part of the history of the age in which he lived. Another volume will complete the work.

SIXTEEN MONTHS AT THE GOLD DIGGINGS. By DANIEL B. WOODS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 199. New Haven: S. Babcock.

There is no poetry and no romance in this volume. It is a plain, unpretending, and we presume honest account of the Author's experience at gold digging in California. Its effect will be, so far as read, to break the "spell of enchantment" which now hangs around that land of golden dreams. The Author is the son of the Rev. Prof. Woods, D. D., of Andover, Mass.

DRAYTON: A Story of American Life. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 274. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Frank Drayton is introduced to the reader as a cobbler, reading, after his hard day's work was done, a volume of Plutarch, and as belonging to a respectable but decayed family. He makes his parting bow as a distinguished ornament of the Bar, and as the betrothed husband of the accomplished heiress, Ellen Meredith. The story is not without merit, nor will it be without readers. Still it lacks those graceful touches, those delicate shades of coloring which belong to a master's hand. Its language is often inflated, and its conversations too bookish to be natural.

THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN. By JACOB ABBOTT. Very greatly improved and enlarged. With numerous engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 402.

We take pleasure, almost always, in recommending the writings of the Messrs. Abbott. In life-like description, and apt illustration, they are among our very best, as well as most voluminous writers. A fine, clear vein of morality always pervades their productions. But when we come to the subject of the Christian Life, and to books of religious instruction for children and adults, our commendation ceases. The book before us, attractive in style, fails everywhere to recognize those great central verities which we are taught to regard as essential; and without which, all teaching on such a theme, must be radically defective, or positively erroneous.

A LADY'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD: A selected Translation from the German of Ida Pfeiffer. By MRS. PERCY SINNETT. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1852. 12mo. pp. 302. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We have heard for years of this Semi-fabulous Amazon, from travelers who have encountered her in various parts of the civilized and uncivilized world; traveling often alone, and unprotected, facing danger and privation with a fearlessness amounting almost to heroism. She is a German by birth. She left Hamburg, June 29th, 1846, and returned to her own country in the latter part of 1848; visiting in her journey, Rio de Janeiro, Valparaiso, Tahite, various cities of China, Ceylon, Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, Delhi, Bombay, Bagdad, Mossul, Nineveh, Tabreez, Asiatic Russia, Odessa, Constantinople, Athens, Corinth, &c. The face of the country, the character, habits, and customs of the people, she describes with considerable particularity, and with a somewhat unfeminine freedom.

Her testimony respecting Missionaries, whom she met in Persia, China, India, and elsewhere, is little to her credit; and reflects suspicion upon her general reputation as a narrator. She says, "The Missionaries repose upon swelling divans,—their wives preside at the tea-table—their children feast on sweetmeats and confectionary—in short, their position is one incomparably pleasanter and freer from care than that of most other people," &c. * * "In all places where I have

been, I have made close enquiries on the subject of the conversions made by these Missionaries, and it always appeared that they were excessively rare." The absence of every thing like Christian sentiment in the book, would not lead us to look for anything like a true appreciation of the Missionary work. But in venturing upon such down-right untruths, as to the result of English Missions in the East, she has gone one step too far. Even at Calcutta, the Hindoos have become thoroughly alarmed at the progress of Christianity; and at a public meeting held by them in that city, it was said, "a strong and zealous movement must be made to resist the progress of the work of conversion through the Missionaries." Farther up the river, the work of conversion is more extensive, and reminds us of Apostolic times. Shame upon the woman! the elevation of whose sex is one of the noblest trophies of the Cross, when she can dip her pen in gall to write words of falsehood on such a theme.

Still, there is little concerning religion in the book; and the work gives a readable view of the various countries which Madam Pfeiffer visited.

POEMS BY A PRIEST. Published for Subscribers. Salisbury, Md., 1851. 12mo. pp. 35.

This neat little volume contains only ten Poems, and these are all short. They are marked by smoothness of versification, purity of language, chastened delicacy of sentiment, and a rich vein of poetic fancy.

THE REV. DR. CRESSEY'S SERMON; *The Position and Safeguards of the Church*: Preached in St. John's Church, Maury County, Tenn., on the 5th Sunday after Trinity, 1851.

A thoughtful Sermon, true to its motto, and suited to the times. Such a discourse as this, showing what able and earnest men are doing in all parts of the Church, is a sign full of promise.

TIMID LUCY. By the author of '*My Little Geography*'—'*Fear not, Little Flock.*'

With four beautiful illustrations, executed by Bobbett & Edmonds, from designs by Matteson. 1 volume, 238 pages; 16mo., fine muslin, (75c.,) gilt edges, (88c.,) 18mo., half morocco binding, (38c.,) fancy paper covers, (25c.)

A beautiful tale of domestic life, in which the every day virtues of the Christian character are presented in a manner to arrest the attention. Artless simplicity, entire naturalness, is a great charm in the story. Nothing is overdrawn. The illustrations are exceedingly well done.

THE WAY THROUGH THE DESERT; OR, THE CARAVAN. By the Rev. R. MILMAN, M. A. With four beautiful illustrations, executed by Bobbett & Edmonds, from designs by Field. 1 volume, 110 pages; 16 mo., fine muslin, (62c.,) gilt edges, (75c.,) 18mo., half morocco binding, (31c.,) fancy paper covers, (20c.)

The straight and narrow way to the Heavenly Canaan is described in this Allegory; which is well sustained, and both in its conception and execution is worthy of John Bunyan.

THE HOLIDAY WEEK, AND OTHER SKETCHES; being the First Series of "*Shades of Character.*" By the author of "*Charlie Burton.*" With twenty-one fine engravings. 1 volume, 229 pages; 16mo., fine muslin, (75c.,) gilt edges, (88c.,) 18mo., half morocco binding, (38c.,) and in twelve separate books, fancy covers.

NORTON HARGRAVE, AND OTHER SKETCHES; being the Second Series of "*Shades of Character.*" By the author of the preceding. With fourteen fine engravings. 1 volume, 248 pages; 16mo., fine muslin, (75c.,) gilt edges, (88c.,) 18mo., half morocco binding, (38c.,) and in twelve separate books, fancy covers.

Both these volumes are reprints from editions of the English Christian Knowledge Society; and we venture to say will not suffer in comparison under an American dress.

WHAT DO I WANT MOST? By Mrs. S. C. STUDLEY. With two fine engravings, from designs by Matteson. 117 pages, 16mo., fine muslin, (59c.,) gilt edges, (63c.,) 18mo., half morocco, (25c.,) fancy paper covers, (14c.)

This charming volume has reached the third edition.

THE FRIENDS. A Tale for Youth. With a frontispiece. 102 pages, 18mo., muslin, (25c.,) half morocco, (22c.,) fancy paper covers, (10c.)

PHOEBE, OR THE HOSPITAL. By the author of "*The Friends*." With a frontispiece. 70 pages, 18mo., muslin, (25c.,) half morocco, (15c.,) fancy paper covers, (7c.)

THE PRIMROSES, OR THE ELDER SISTERS. By the author of "*The Friends*." With a frontispiece. 65 pages, 18mo., muslin, (25c.,) half morocco, (15c.,) fancy paper covers, (7c.)

MAURICE FAVELL, OR THE SINGING LESSONS. By the author of "*The Friends*." With a frontispiece. 64 pages, 18mo., muslin, (25c.,) half morocco, (15c.,) fancy paper covers, (7c.)

THE PRIZE, OR THE PRECIOUSNESS OF A MEek AND QUIET SPIRIT. By the author of "*The Friends*." With a frontispiece. 45 pages, 18mo., muslin, (16c.,) half morocco, (12c.,) fancy paper covers, (5c.)

LETTER TO A YOUNG PERSON ON BECOMING A MEMBER OF A CHURCH CHOIR. By the Rev. GEORGE A. LEAKIN. With a finely engraved frontispiece. 24 pages, 18mo., half morocco, (9c.,) fancy paper covers, (3c.)

THE Rook, AN EXAMPLE OF INDUSTRY. With two fine engravings. Muslin, (25c.,) half morocco, (15c.,) fancy paper covers, (7c.)

The above twelve volumes are recent issues of the Sunday School Union. We see nothing in them to which the most fastidious Churchman ought to object. In mechanical execution they are really choice gems of art. For holiday presents, nothing can be more appropriate. Mr. Geo. B. Bassett, Publisher of the Church Review, is Agent for the Union in New Haven.

REV. SAMUEL BUEL'S SERMON at the Consecration of Emmanuel Church, Cumberland, Md., Oct. 16th, 1851.

In manly vigor of thought, strength of the reasoning faculty, and boldness of enunciation, we regard Mr. Buel as among our very best writers.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE AND ARTS. Conducted by Professors B. SILLIMAN, B. SILLIMAN, JR., and JAMES D. DANA. New Haven: Published every second month.

This work is identified with the progress of Physical Science; and is an honor not only to its Conductors, but to the country. It has a higher reputation in Foreign lands than at home. (See advertisement on the 3d page of the cover.)

THE JUBILEE OF MDCCCLII IN NEW YORK.—This pamphlet contains the Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Replies of the Standing Committee of New York, and the Clergy, Wardens, and Vestrymen, of Trinity Parish, New York City; an account of the Jubilee Services in Trinity Church, and the Sermon then delivered by the Rev. Dr. McVickar. Suffice it to say, that the Services and the Sermon were worthy of the occasion.

BISHOP McILVAINE'S CHARGE on "Spiritual Regeneration," delivered to the Clergy at the 34th Convention of the Diocese of Ohio, 1851.

This is an able, and in certain respects important production. We hope at no distant day to take up the subject discussed, and to show that there is a common ground, on which most, (not all) of our Clergy may, and do, substantially agree. We may, perhaps, hesitate where so much has been so ably written, in vain, or worse than in vain. Much of the controversy in the Church on the subject of Regeneration, has arisen from a different use of terms, among those who yet hold

to the same *things*. There are those in both extremes, who differ from each other and from the Church, both in form and substance.

Historical Address, pronounced before the House of Convocation of Trinity College, in Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut, at the Twenty-Fifth Annual Commencement, by the Rev. E. E. Beardsley, M. A., Rector of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven.

This is a Scholarly production, creditable to the College and its author. It notices the disabilities under which Churchmen in Connecticut long suffered; traces the educational efforts of Bishop Seabury, in establishing the Episcopal Academy, at Cheshire; the repeated refusal of the General Assembly to give to that Institution power to confer degrees; the successful efforts made, after the Consecration of Bishop Brownell, and the passage of the Toleration Act, to obtain a Charter for a new College; and gives a succinct history of the Institution, under the Presidences of Bishop Brownell, Doctors Wheaton and Totten; the modelling of the government of the College after the English Universities; and brings its history down to the election of President Williams, the present Assistant Bishop of the Diocese. Every friend of Trinity College, present and future, will be grateful to Mr. Beardsley for a work executed with so much judgment and good taste.

Rev. N. E. Cornwall's Jubilee Sermon in Trinity Church, Southport, (Fairfield,) Connecticut, Aug. 10, 1851.—This is an important historical sketch of one of the oldest Parishes in Connecticut; a parish which had the partial services of the Rev. Dr. Johnson, for two years; and was the scene of the labors of a man too little known, the Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, about twenty years, from 1727 to 1747. Mr. Cornwall is the Seventh Rector of a parish which has been organized one hundred and twenty-seven years. He gives brief but interesting notices of his predecessors; and records many valuable facts in the history of the Parish. The discourse is exceedingly creditable to its Author, for the industry and exactness which it evinces; and the Wardens and Vestry who solicited its publication will, we hope, find their example imitated in other of our older Parishes. The real history of the Church in this country, must be gathered, hereafter, from just such sources as this.

THE INFLUENCE OF THOUGHT. The Rev. Dr. Thomas M. Clark's Phi Beta Kappa Oration at Union College, July 22, 1851.

It is the belief of the Orator, that "we are now verging towards a new intellectual era, the characteristics of which will be as vital and important as were those of the Reformation." He infers this "from the condition of practical art, of theoretic science, and of abstract thought." The Oration is full of truthful, vigorous, and beautiful conceptions; and contains some keen hits at certain modes of thinking, or what is sometimes called, thinking. It may be commended to all who are not fearful of collapse from contact with its sharp points.

RIGHT REV. BISHOP PAYNE'S ADDRESS before the Alumni of the Alexandria Theol. Seminary, July 10, 1851. A clear vindication of the claims of our African Mission to a more vigorous support.

COLONIAL CHURCH CHRONICLE: London.

This valuable Periodical (Monthly) is a record of the progress of the Venerable Propagation Society, and often contains papers of great value.

REV. DR. MUHLENBERG'S ADDRESS at the laying of the Corner Stone of Kemp Hall, St. James' College, Md.—The efficient agency of Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, in promoting the cause of Christian Education in this country, has not been duly appreciated.

REPORT OF THE GEN. PROT. EP. S. S. UNION, 1851. With the Right Rev. Bishop Whittingham's Quarter-Centennial Sermon.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Bishop White Prayer Book Society, 1851.

REV. T. F. BILLOPP'S SERMON: "Hearing Christ in the Church," at Stanton, Del. Published by request.

A LETTER to the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Delaware. By Alfred Lee, Bishop of the Diocese of Delaware, 1851. With two Letters to the Rev. T. F. Billopp, and also Bishop Lee's Sermon at New Castle, Del., April 27, 1851.

We receive, Bishop Lee's pamphlet at the moment of going to press. The whole controversy, which we have no room here to explain, involves serious questions both of Order and Doctrine. It is an illustration of the practical workings of our Church system; an admirably adjusted system of Law and Order, checks and balances.

The New York Ecclesiologist, Nov. 1851. Published by the New York Ecclesiological Society.

THE MOTTO of Jubilee College, Nov. 1851. This Monthly Magazine is always an interesting messenger from the Venerable Presiding Bishop; whose Church Missionary Character it strongly reflects.

FOURTH ANNUAL Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1850.

LONDON LABOR AND THE LONDON POOR. By Henry Mayhew. With Engravings. Parts 13, 14, 15. New York: Harper & Brothers.—Graphic Sketches of Life in London.

PICTORIAL FIELD BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION. Parts 18 and 19. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851.—This popular work fully sustains its reputation. We have before noticed the exquisite finish of the illustrations.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE, New York: Oct., Nov., Dec.—The article in the December number, on the American Arctic Expedition, illustrated by drawings taken on the spot, is worth more than the price of the Number. The work is conducted with great ability and industry.

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE, New York: Stringer & Townsend, Oct., Nov., Dec.—The Editor and Publishers are sparing no efforts to merit the favor of the public, and which we believe they are liberally receiving.

ART. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES.

The Smithsonian Institute, Washington City, has published Vol. i, 4to. Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, by Messrs. Squier & Davis, pp. 346, with 48 plates and 207 wood-cuts—\$10. Volume ii, containing 13 Memoirs on Scientific Subjects, 4to. pp. 164, and 24 plates—\$5.50.—Geo. P. Putnam, New York, will publish immediately a posthumous work of Fennimore Cooper, *The Men of Manhattan*, said to abound with curious statistics and opinions relating to the City of New York.—The Fourth Annual Report of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, prepared by C. C. Jewett, gives the following Summary of Libraries in the United States:

The whole number of libraries, (including those of the district schools,) of which I have been able to collect accounts, is 10,640; the aggregate number of volumes, 3,641,765; the whole number, exclusive of district school libraries, 644; the aggregate number of volumes in these, 2,144,069. (These are exclusive of

pamphlets, manuscripts, maps and charts, &c.) The number of libraries said to contain 50,000 volumes and upwards, is but four, namely: Harvard University, (including the public library, 56,000; Law, 13,000; Theological, 3,000; Medical, 1,200; students' libraries, 10,000 volumes,) 83,200; the Philadelphia and Logan Libraries, 60,000; Congress Library, 50,000; Boston Athenæum, 50,000; the number of libraries containing over 20,000, (counting with the college libraries those of societies of students connected with the colleges, and *excluding* the four libraries above mentioned,) 11; the number of libraries containing from 10,000 to 20,000 volumes, 38; the number of libraries containing from 5,000 to 10,000, 75; the whole number of libraries containing over 5,000 volumes each, 138; whole number of libraries containing between 1,000 and 5,000 volumes, 437.

The Hon. Mr. Gladstone's two Letters to Lord Aberdeen, on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government, has been republished by a New York New-boy.—Little & Brown, Boston, will publish the Miscellaneous Writings, Addresses, and Judicial Opinions of the late Judge Woodbury, in four octavo volumes.—The Life of Judge Story is already in preparation by his Son, and will be published in two volumes.—E. B. Butler & Co., Philadelphia, have published *The Female Prose Writers of America. With Portraits, Biographical Notices, and Specimens of their writings.* By JOHN S. HART, LL. D.—Forty-eight names are introduced. The portraits given are of Miss Sedgwick, Miss McIntosh, Mrs. Kirkland, Mrs. Hentz, Mrs. Stevens, Margaret Fuller, Mrs. Judson, and Mrs. Neal.

ENGLAND.

Mr. Edward Ross is preparing *Lives of the Judges of England*, four volumes of which have been published. They are said to rival Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, and to exhibit more care and research in their preparation. Bagster & Sons, London, have published *The Jansenists: their Rise, Persecutions by the Jesuits, their Remnant*, by S. P. Tregelles, LL. D.—Rev. Henry Caswall is preparing a Second Edition of his *America and the American Church*.—R. C. Trench has published by Parker, five Lectures on the Study of Words.—Parker & Son have published *Rituale Anglo-Catholicum*; or the testimony of the Catholic Church to the Book of Common Prayer, as exhibited in quotations from Ancient Fathers, Councils, Liturgies, and Rituals. By Henry Bailey, B. D. 8vo. pp. 155. This may be a valuable work; and if well done, should be reprinted in the United States.—Parker also publishes a new Edition of Cox's *Christain Ballads*, with a new Preface by the Author.—The *Westminster Review* has been sold to Mr. John Chapman, the publisher. This change will make it the organ of the party to which Theodore Parker, Francis Newman, Froude, Foxton, and Thomas Wilson belong.—Thackeray is writing a novel, in three volumes, to be published in the winter. The scene is in England, nearly in the eighteenth century, and the stage will be crossed by many of the illustrious actors of that time, such as Bolingbroke, Swift and Pope; and Steele will play a prominent part.—Chapman & Hall have just published Thomas Carlyle's *Life of John Sterling*. 8vo. 10s. 6d. The book is attracting considerable attention.—Murray has published the Second Edition of *History of Erastianism*, by Archdeacon Wilberforce.—Professor Wilson, of Edinburgh University, the Christopher North of Blackwood, has retired from the University on account of ill health.—Macaulay's two Essays on Ranke's History of the Popes, and on Gladstone on Church and State, forms the eighth part of the Traveller's Library.—The following is the circulation of some of the London Newspapers:—*Illustrated London News*, 66,673; *Daily Times*, 38,019; *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, (Monthly,) 12,025; *Guardian*, 3,612; *Tablet*, 2,093; *English Churchman*, 1,520; *Church and State Gazette*, 846.—Keble's *Christian Year* has reached the fortieth edition.—Among the recent publications of Parker, are the following:—A collection of all the Ecclesiastical Laws, Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England, from its first foundation to the Reformation. Translated into English with explanatory Notes. By John Johnson, M. A. A New

Edition. Two Vols. 8vo. 11 4s. This Edition has been carefully reprinted from that of 1720, extracts from the original Saxon and Latin being added in Notes where Johnson's translation seemed incorrect or obscure. Also, A Manual of Ecclesiastical History, from the First to the Twelfth Century inclusive. By the Rev. E. S. Foulkes, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. In one Vol. 8vo., 12s.—J. Deighton has in press the Hulsean Lectures, 1851. The Preparation for the Gospel, as exhibited in the History of the Israelites; By the Rev. G. Currey, B. D., Preacher at the Charterhouse, and Boyle's Lecturer, formerly Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge.—An Exposition of the xxxix. Articles, derived from the Writings of the Older Divines; By the Rev. W. B. Hopkins, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of St. Catharine's Hall, and formerly Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge.—Hope & Co. have in press An Enquiry into the Theology of the Anglican Reformers; with Extracts from their Writings on the Apostolical Succession—Baptism—the Holy Eucharist—Predestination—Faith and Works; with a concluding Dissertation on their Value and Authority in illustrating the teaching of the Church of England; By a Priest of the Diocese of Exeter. One Vol. post 8vo., price 6s.—The Oxford University Press has recently issued The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers; Edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall, F. R. S., &c., late Fellow of Exeter College; and Sir Frederick Madden, K. H., F. R. S., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Four Vols. 4to., 5l. 15s. 6d.—Also, The Two Books of Common Prayer, set forth by Authority of Parliament, in the reign of King Edward VI; Compared with each other. By Edward Cardwell, D. D., Principal of St. Alban's Hall. Second Edition. 8vo., 8s.—Also, Reformatio Legum—The Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, as attempted in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth. A New Edition. 8vo., 6s. 6d.

CONTINENTAL AND ORIENTAL.

The study of Russian archæology and history is prosecuted in that country with a degree of activity and thoroughness that other nations are not aware of, and publications of importance are made constantly. Within the present year the fifth part of the complete collection of *Russian Chronicles* has appeared, the fourth of the collection of public documents relating to the history of Western Russia, and the beginning of a new collection of foreign historians of Russia.

Periodical literature is making its way into Asia. A literary monthly has made its appearance at Tiflis, in the Georgian language. It will discuss Georgian literature, furnish translations from foreign tongues, and treat of the arts and sciences, and of agriculture. What oriental students will find most interesting in this magazine, will be its specimens of the popular literature of the country. A new Armenian periodical has also been commenced in the Trans-Caucasian country.

The second part of the third volume of HUMBOLDT'S *Kosmos* is nearly completed, and will soon appear. A fourth volume is to be added, in which the geological studies of the venerable author will be set forth. He is now nearly eighty-one years old, and is as vigorous and youthful in feeling as ever. The first part of the third volume of *Kosmos* appeared in German and English several months ago.

A History of Polish Literature, from the remotest antiquity to 1830, is now being published at Warsaw, by Mr. MACIEJOWSKI, a writer thoroughly acquainted with the subject. Three parts of the first volume have appeared, bringing the history down to the first half of the seventeenth century. One more part will complete the volume, and three volumes will complete the work.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

CONSECRATIONS.

BISHOP OF FLORIDA.

On the 15th of October, 1851, the Rev. Francis H. Rutledge, D.D., was consecrated Bishop for the Diocese of Florida, in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia. The Right Rev. C. E. Gadsden, D.D., of South Carolina, presided by request of the Senior Bishop. Morning Prayer was said by the Rev. T. F. Scott, of Columbus, Georgia. The Sermon was preached by the Right Rev. Bishop Gadsden, from John xx, 21, 22, 23; who also began the Communion Service; the Right Rev. Bishop Elliott, of Georgia, reading the Epistle, and the Right Rev. Bishop Cobbs, of Alabama, the Gospel. The Bishop elect was presented by the Right Rev. Bishops Cobbs and Elliott. The Testimonials were read by the Rev. Dr. Ford, of Augusta, Ga.; the Litany was then said by the Right Rev. Bishop Elliott; the Bishop elect was assisted in putting on the Episcopal Habit by Rev. Dr. Marshall and the Rev. T. G. Young, of South Carolina. The Right Rev. Bishops Gadsden, Elliott, and Cobbs, then united in the laying on of hands upon the Bishop elect. The Right Rev. Bishop Elliott read the Offertory, and the Prayer for the Church Militant was said by the Right Rev. Bishop Gadsden. The services were solemn and imposing, and were attended by a large Congregation of Clergy and Laity.

ASSISTANT BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT.

On the 29th of October, 1851, the Rev. John Williams, D.D., President of Trinity College, was consecrated Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut. The Right Rev. Bishop Brownell acted as Consecrator by request; the Right Rev. Bishops Hopkins of Vermont, Eastburn of Massachusetts, Henshaw of Rhode Island, Chase of New Hampshire, Burgess of Maine, and DeLancey of Western New York, being present and assisting. The Rev. Dr. T. W. Coit and the Rev. R. A. Hallam, read Morning Prayers, assisted by Rev. J. L. Clark in the Lessons. The Right Rev. Bishop Hopkins, read the Ante-Communion Service to the Collect, which was said by the Right Rev. Bishop Brownell. The Epistle was read by the Right Rev. Bishop Eastburn; the Gospel by the Right Rev. Bishop DeLancey. After singing Psalm 79, Bishop Burgess preached from St. Luke, xxi, 26, 27. The Bishop elect was presented to the Presiding Bishop by the Right Rev. Bishop Chase, and the Right Rev. Bishop Burgess. The Rev. Dr. Croswell read the Testimonials of the Convention; the Rev. Dr. Mead, the Testimonials of the Standing Committees by twenty-six Dioceses, and the Rev. Dr. Wheaton, the letter of the Right Rev. Bishop Chase, requesting to Consecrate. The Presiding Bishop proceeded with the Prayers and Interrogatories, the Litany

being said by the Right Rev. Bishop Henshaw. The Bishop elect was assisted in putting on the Episcopal Habit by the Rev. Dr. T. M. Clark and the Rev. E. E. Beardsley. The Presiding Bishop and the Right Rev. Bishops Hopkins, De Lancey, Eastburn, Henshaw, Chase and Burgess united in the Laying on of Hands. The Presiding Bishop proceeded with the Offertory, Bishop Burgess said the Prayer for the Church Militant, Bishop Chase resumed the Communion Service, Bishop DeLancey said the Prayers of Consecration. After the administration, the concluding Prayers and the Benediction were by the Presiding Bishop. The number of the Clergy present on this occasion was 94, including the Bishops; and the Church was crowded with a most attentive and deeply interested Congregation.

ASSISTANT BISHOP OF ILLINOIS.

The Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, D. D., was consecrated Assistant Bishop for Illinois, on the 20th of Nov. 1851, in St. George's Church, New York city. The Right Rev. Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, acted as Consecrator, the Right Rev. Bishops Lee, Eastburn, Hawks, Potter, Burgess and Williams being present and assisting. Morning Prayer was said by the Rev. Drs. Wainwright, Turner, and Lewis, and the Rev. Mr. Bedell. The Right Rev. Bishop Brownell commenced the Ante-Communion, Bishop Burgess reading the Decalogue, Bishop Lee the Epistle, and Bishop Eastburn the Gospel. The Right Rev. Bishop Potter preached the Sermon from 2. Tim. iv, 1, 2. The Bishop elect was assisted in robing by the Rev. Dr. S. R. Johnson, and the Rev. T. R. Chipman. He was presented by the Right Rev. Bishops Eastburn and Burgess. All the Bishops united in the imposition of hands. The Holy Communion was then administered by the Bishops; Bishop Hawks, Bishop Potter, and Bishop Williams performing the Service. A very large Congregation of Clergy and people were present at the interesting services.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Gallagher, Peyton,	DeLancey,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Homer, C. W.,	Eastburn,	Sept. 30, 1851.	Grace, Boston, Mass.
Lyon, Daniel,	McCoskry,	Oct. 8, 1851.	St. Mark's, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Newton, William,	Potter,	Nov. 30, 1851.	St. Paul's, Phil., Pa.
Ruth, P. S.,	Potter,	Nov. 2, 1851.	St. Paul's, Troy, Pa.
Sutton, R. B.,	Cobbs,	Dec. 10, 1851.	St. Paul's, Greensboro, Ala.

PRIESTS.

Bentley, J.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Betts, B. R.,	DeLancey,	Oct. 19, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Chase, P., Jr.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Childs, S. R.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Drayton, J. G.,	Gadsden,	Oct. 26, 1851.	Grace, Charleston, S. C.
Gardiner, C. H.,	DeLancey,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Hills, G. M.,	DeLancey,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Johnston, J. L.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Morrison, T. N.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Page, R. O.,	DeLancey,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Russell, L. S.,	Whittingham,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Laurel, Md.
Schuyler, Anthony,	DeLancey,	Dec. 19, 1851.	St. Mark's, Penn Yan, W. N. Y.
Stringfellow, H., Jr.,	Johns,	Aug. 2, 1851.	Trinity, Shephardstown, Va.
White, J. C.,	Johns,	Aug. 2, 1851.	Trinity, Shephardstown, Va.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Calvary,	Chase,	Nov. 26, 1851.	Farmington, Ill.
Calvary,	DeLancey,	Nov. 19, 1851.	Utica, W. N. Y.
Emanuel,	Whittingham,	Oct. 16, 1851.	Cumberland, Md.
Grace,	Meade,	Nov. 4, 1851.	Ravenswood, Va.
St. Barnabas',	Whittingham,	Dec. 11, 1851.	Sykesville, Md.
St. Michael's,	Brownell,	Dec. 16, 1851.	Litchfield, Conn.
St. Paul's,	DeLancey,	Oct. 22, 1851.	Buffalo, W. N. Y.
St. Paul's,	Johns,	Nov. 3, 1851.	Lynchburgh, Va.
Zion,	DeLancey,	Sept. 25, 1851.	Rome, W. N. Y.

REMOVALS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Betts, B. R.,	Trinity,	Rockaway, N. Y.
" Caldwell, D.,	Christ,	Georgetown, D. C.
" Carter, A. B.,	Christ,	Savannah, Georgia.
" Child, W. S.,	Christ,	Springfield, Mass.
" Cushman, G. F.,	Trinity,	Pawtucket, R. I.
" Elwell, F.,	St. James,	Vincennes, Ind.
" Gillespie, G. D.,	Zion,	Palmyra, W. N. Y.
" Horton, S. J.,	St. Paul's,	Windham, Conn.
" Kerr, David,	—	Rock Creek, D. C.
" Maury, M. F.,	St. Paul's,	Selma, Ala.
" Mitchell, R. H. B.,	William and Mary,	Mt. Olive, St. Mary's Co., Md.
" Nichols, J. H.,	St. Luke's,	Racine City, Wisconsin.
" Phelps, C. E.,	St. Paul's,	Whitehall, N. Y.
" Putnam, C. S.,	St. John's,	Tuckahoe, N. Y.
" Sayres, Geo.,	St. Peter's,	Freehold, New Jersey.
" Smithett, W. L.,	Christ,	Boston, Mass.
" Stickney, M. P.,	Burlington College,	New Jersey.
" Trapnell, Jos., Jr.,	St. Michael's,	Bristol, R. I.
" Tyler, T. P.,	Trinity,	Fredonia, W. N. Y.
" White, J. C.,	St. Andrew's,	Baltimore, Md.
" Woart, John,	St. James',	Great Barrington, Mass.

OBITUARIES.

REV. T. JARVIS CARTER died in New York city, Nov. 15th, 1851, in the 27th year of his age. He was Rector of Grace Church, Cleveland, Ohio. His sickness was painful and protracted. His submission, his filial confidence in God, his realizing of Christ as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," were impressively exhibited. The Wardens and Vestry of Grace Church passed appropriate Resolutions.

REV. ANDREW WYLIE, D. D., President of Indiana University, at Bloomington, Ind., died suddenly on Tuesday, Nov. 11, in the sixty-third year of his age. He had been absent from the recitations of his class but two days. On the Friday previous, he delivered an Address before the Agricultural Society of the County. The funeral services were in the University Chapel, where the Burial Service was read by Prof. Wylie, and an Oration delivered by the Rev. Dr. Daily. President Wylie was an able and successful Professor and teacher, and was regarded as one of the first men in the West. We are as yet without full particulars of his life. He had been many years a distinguished Presbyterian divine; when careful study and examination led him to distrust the validity of his Orders; and at length in 1841, to seek and receive *Deacon's Orders* at the hands of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Kemper. He twice represented the Diocese in General Convention, and at the time of his death was President of the Standing Committee.

NEW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

As a matter of record, and a means of information, we republish the following Circular. The new Seminary, as will be seen, is strongly manned. The number of Students was recently thirteen. More were expected.

THEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION AT TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONN.—It is proposed to give, at this Institution, to Graduates of the College, and to such others as may wish to avail themselves of it, instruction in Theology, under the charge of the Right Reverend Bishop of Connecticut, who is Chancellor of the College.

Arrangements have been made for instruction in the following departments, viz: 1, Pastoral Theology, and Pulpit Eloquence, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop BROWNELL, assisted by the Rev. A. C. COXE. 2, Doctrinal Theology, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. WILLIAMS, Assistant Bishop of Conn. 3, History, Ministry, Polity and Ritual of the Church, by the Rev. Dr. CORR. 4, Christian Evidences, and Biblical Literature, by Rev. Dr. CLARK.

Instructions in Greek and Hebrew will be provided for, at present, by a temporary arrangement.

No Tuition fees are charged. A small room-rent will be paid by such as may occupy apartments in the College.

The course of Instruction commenced on Monday, the 29th of September, last.

It may perhaps be well to state that Theological Instruction has been given at Trinity College, to a few Candidates for Holy Orders, for the last two years. The Rev. Messrs. Rankine, Benedict, Jessup, Rudder, and Lumsden, completed their preparations for Orders under these instructions. A few others remain; and it is expected that the next Term will open with from twelve to fifteen Theological Students.

Persons wishing further information, may apply to the Rev. Dr. CORR, of Trinity College.

NEW CHURCH PAPER.—The last Convention of the Diocese of Mississippi, adopted measures for the establishment of a new paper to be issued at Vicksburg, and to be called "The Church Herald." The Rev. S. Patterson and Messrs. Yerger and Smedes, are appointed as Editors. The price of the paper is \$3.00. The first Number will appear in January. Such a paper is called for to meet the wants of the Church in the South and Southwest. No section of the Church in our country is putting forth more signs of life and vigor than in Mississippi. The Prospectus of this new periodical shows that the Editors have taken hold of the work in the right spirit.

ANOTHER NEW CHURCH PAPER.—A paper called "The Evangelical Catholic" has been commenced in New York, and thus far appeared once in two weeks. It proposes to eschew controversy, and to develop the living practical element of religion. It is a spirited little sheet and is conducted in good taste. The Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg is its responsible Editor. There are now four Church Newspapers in the State of New York; three in the older Diocese.

NEW YORK.—In St. Paul's Church, on Tuesday, November 4th, the Rt. Rev. W. H. DeLancey, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Western New York, pronounced the sentence of suspension for one year from the ministry of the Church, upon the Rev. John Canfield Stirling, unless he should in the meantime give satisfactory evidence of amendment, and engage to conform to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Mr. Stirling has for some time past been officiating for a congregation holding tenets similar to those of the late Mr. Irving.

At the same time and place the Bishop pronounced sentence of deposition from

the ministry of the Church, upon the Rev. Wm. Everett, who had renounced the same. Mr. Everett has connected himself with the Church of Rome.

The Presbyters present and witnessing these sentences, were the Rev. Samuel R. Johnson, D. D., Rev. B. I. Haight, D. D., and Rev. William Walton.

TREASON AND THE NEW YORK INDEPENDENT.—On Thursday, Sept. 11th, 1851, a bloody scene was enacted at Christiana, Lancaster Co., Penn. Two runaway Slaves being secreted there, the owner, Edward Gorsuch, from Baltimore Co., Md., assisted by several United States Officers, and Philadelphia policemen, attempted to recover them under the late Act of Congress. The slaves, and a gang of about eighty negroes and white men, armed with guns, pistols, scythes, &c., resisted the officers, killed Mr. Gorsuch outright, and severely wounded several others; when the officers, overpowered, fled for their lives. Had the capturing force been greater, the loss of life must have been terrible. As it is, the question arises, where rests the responsibility of this forcible, bloody resistance to the laws of the country?

Slavery exists. It was introduced into this country mostly in northern vessels, and by a traffic which has filled the pockets of northern abolitionists. It was abolished at the north but recently, and only when it ceased to be profitable. It is confessedly, and exclusively a State institution, with which the northern States have no more to do, than with slavery in Cuba. Its existence at the South renders imperatively necessary certain protectionary laws; such as were always in operation at the North, so long as they were needed. At the formation of our National Constitution, such protection was guaranteed by express declaration, and without that declaration, the Constitution could not have been adopted. The recent "Fugitive Law" goes not a hair's breadth beyond the very letter of that Constitution. Again, we ask, where rests the responsibility of this combined, forcible, bloody resistance to Constitutional Law, to which we have adverted above?

We answer: it rests chiefly upon those men who create a public sentiment which emboldens to that resistance. It rests of course upon such men as Theodore Parker, and Philips, and Garrison, and Quincy, whose insanity has made them comparatively harmless. It rests, more fearfully, upon those professed teachers of religion, who prostitute their office by preaching Treason, and praying Treason from their pulpits. It rests more fearfully still, upon those Conductors of the religious press (so called) who spread their poison by the wholesale among their honest-minded, ill-informed readers. We mean such men as the Editors of the "*New York Independent*." Thus those Editors, under date of Oct. 24, 1850, ventured to say as follows:

"To, the fugitives themselves * * this Law is no Law, * * and to resist it even unto death, is their right, and it may be their duty. * * To each individual fugitive, to every man or woman, who having escaped from bondage and tasted liberty, is in hourly peril of being seized and dragged back to Slavery, we say, *Be fully prepared for your own defence. If to you death seems better than slavery, then refuse not to die,—whether on the way-side, at your own threshold, or even as a felon upon the gallows.* Defend your liberty and the liberty of your wife and children, as you would defend your life and theirs against the assassin. *If you die thus, you die nobly,* and your blood shall be the redemption of your race. Should you destroy the life of your assailant, you will pass into the custody of the Criminal Law * * under an indictment for murder; but the verdict of the community, and the verdict of almost any jury will be, justifiable homicide in self-defense. * * Or should a different verdict be found, and you be condemned to die as a murderer, *your ignominious head shall be luminous with the halo of a martyr, and your sacrifice shall be for the deliverance of your people.*"

We ask that this language be pondered. Here is the secret of the bloody tragedy at Christiana. These are the teachings sent abroad among the 10,000 subscribers of whom his paper boasts. These are the men, on whose skirts is the blood of the slain. Let these wicked, horrible, counsels, prevail, and our cities

shall become battlefields; our houses, hospitals for the wounded; the torch of civil war shall do its work; we shall sleep defended by bayonets; be awoke every morning by the beat of the reveille; our glorious Union perish forever; and with it the brightest hopes of the world;—and all in the name of a "higher law"!

That there is a class of men at the north, not insignificant in number, talent, or influence, who not only have no attachment to the Union, but who thoroughly hate the Constitution which cements that Union, we have painful evidence to believe. To rebuke and expose such men, is the first dictate of humanity and religion.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Pennsylvania German Reformed Synod, held recently at Lancaster, was regarded with a great degree of interest, to learn its action on the resignation of Prof. Nevin, of the Mercersburgh Theological Seminary. Prof. N. having incurred the censure of several of his brethren on account of his views of Church authority and the validity of the ordinances, resigned his office. The question of its reception, was a test of the agreement of the members of the Synod with his high-church views, and elicited a warm and protracted discussion. The result was, that by a large vote, the Synod requested the Professor to recall his resignation—thus practically endorsing his sentiments. Several classes protested against the vote, and strongly intimated that it would lead to a separation. The Synod of the same Church in Ohio, on the contrary, have given several indications of a tendency quite the other way.

It is proposed to erect a Statue of marble or bronze to the memory of the late J. Fennimore Cooper, and probably in the city of New York. The English press notice his death with appropriate mention of his character. His friend and physician, J. W. Francis, M. D., publishes an interesting Letter of Reminiscences in the November International.

Judge Nelson of the United States Circuit Court has lately decided the case which has long been litigated between the Methodists North and South. He decides that the South are entitled to their proportion of the property, which amounts to about \$750,000. The entire membership of the South is about 460,553; and of the North about 639,066. This valuable property has grown up out of the successful management of their Book-concern.

The plan of endowing two Professorships in Kenyon College, Ohio, promises to be successful; one is already secured by the munificence of \$10,000 from a single individual, and the other will doubtless be secured by the sale of scholarships in the Diocese of Ohio.

Of American Colleges, Harvard and Yale contain the greatest number of students. Harvard exceeds Yale in numbers by 73, as follows:

HARVARD COLLEGE.—The whole number of professional students, resident graduates and undergraduates connected with the Institution, is 631. They are classed as follows: Theological students, 27; Law students, 108; students attending Medical Lectures, 116; Scientific students, 69; Resident graduates, 7; Seniors, 81; Juniors, 85; Sophomores, 71; Freshmen, 67. The number of books in the Libraries of the University, is stated as follows: Public Library, 60,000; Medical Library, 1,200. Law Library, 14,000; Theological Library, 3,000; Society Libraries of the Students, 12,000—total, about 90,200 volumes.

YALE COLLEGE.—There are now connected with it in the various departments of study 558 students; Theological students, 38; Law students, 27; Medical students, 37; students in the Arts, 16; Undergraduates, 440, viz: Seniors, 92; Juniors, 112; Sophomores, 121; Freshmen, 115.

GENEVA COLLEGE.—Trinity Church, New York, has offered to the Trustees of Geneva College, instead of the promised endowment in 1866, to endow the College at once with an annual sum of three thousand dollars, (the income of \$50,000 at 6 per cent.) on the condition that the Trustees shall make the College a **FREE COLLEGE**. This is a noble offer, and if accepted will release the College from present embarrassments, and place it at once on a permanent footing.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLISH COLONIAL MISSIONS.

BISHOP OF BOMBAY.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Carr, Bishop of Bombay, who has been for some months absent from his Diocese, has resigned his See. The Rev. John Harding, D. D., Rector of St. Andrew's and St. Ann's, Blackfriars, England, has been appointed his successor. He was consecrated on Sunday, August 10, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishop of London, and Bishop Carr. He left for Bombay, October 10.

ANOTHER COLONIAL BISHOP.

Arrangements are in progress for the establishment of a Bishopric in Borneo. The English mission there is assuming a position of great interest. The venerable Bishop of Calcutta, on a late visitation to Sarawak, said, "It is my full persuasion, that there is no mission on the face of the earth to be compared with that of Borneo." This region has been the darkest recess of heathenism. Already there are two ordained missionaries laboring with great success; two Catechists from Bishops College, Calcutta; and a Chinese schoolmaster. There is also a Mission school of Chinese and Dyak children, and a hospital.

STILL ANOTHER COLONIAL BISHOP.

SIERRA LEONE.—The Rev. O. E. Vidal of Holy Trinity, Arlington, Sussex, has been nominated as the first Bishop of Sierra Leone. Mr. Vidal has been engaged for several years in the study of the languages of Africa, and lately published a pamphlet to show the practicability of carrying a chain of missions across the African continent. The translation of the Scriptures into the languages of Africa would be one of the essential branches of missionary labor. The Archbishop of Canterbury and her Majesty's Government have signified their consent to Mr. Vidal's early consecration, if a moderate endowment can be secured.

The unexpected amount of matter already given in this number, has left no room for full reports of FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE, which have been prepared with great care. Among the events of moment is the new French Revolution. On the 2d of December, the President, finding the Constitution, and the Assembly, both in his way, and relying upon the Army to sustain him, sent out the following decree:

In the name of the French people, the President of the Republic decrees:

Art. 1. The National Assembly is dissolved.

Art. 2. Universal Suffrage is re-established. The law of the 31st of May is abrogated.

Art. 3. The French people is convoked in its elective colleges from the 14th of December to the 21st of December following.

Art. 4. The state of siege is decreed throughout the first military division.

Art. 5. The Council of State is dissolved.

Art. 6. The Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed,)

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

DE MOBYN, the Minister of the Interior.
Palace of the Elysee, Dec. 2.

In England, the Convocational movement is becoming the great subject of the day. In July last, the matter was brought before the House of Lords, where it was thoroughly discussed. In June, the "Synod of Exeter" was held, and Three Declarations almost unanimously carried; affirming the Doctrinal and Ecclesiastical position of the Church of England, on certain questions of the times. Other Diocesan Synodical movements are in contemplation, and will, surely, sooner or later develop themselves.

